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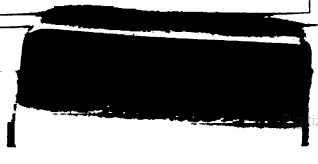

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MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, and his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH, by the Author of the FEMALE QUIXOTE.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY THE GREAT.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

A NEW EDITION.

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SUMMARY

OF THE

BOOKS contained in the FIFTH VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the TWENTY-EIGHTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION of the memoirs of the year 1610. Remarks upon the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. a deſcription of his perſon: particulars relating to his life; his character; his good and bad qualities. The ſituation in which his death left the duke of Sully: his reaſons for ſuſpecting the new council: he ſhuts himſelf up in the Baſtile; but afterwards goes to the Louvre: the gracious reception given him by the queen: he aſſiſts at the ceremony of the bed of juſtice. Mary de Medicis ſettles a public and private council, in which the policy and maxims of government are entirely changed: Sully complains of theſe proceedings: he is not regarded. The count of Soiſſons returns to court: quarrels between him and Sully. Councils held concerning the armament ſet on foot by Henry, concerning the duke of Savoy, &c. in which Sully makes fruitleſs repreſentations againſt their proceeding: he reſolves to reſign his employments, and to retire from court; his family oppoſe this deſign: he ſends Arnaud to Conchini, who receives with haughtineſs his advances: he unites with the prince of Condé: the

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wiſe advice he gives him; notwithſtanding which, this prince joins his enemies. Other plots of the court; and Sully's diſputes with the miniſters and courtiers. A farther account of the affair of Cleves, and its concluſion.

SUMMARY of the TWENTY-NINTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION of the memoirs of 1610, 1611. The reaſons why the princes, grandees, and miniſters, hated Sully: he oppoſes the unjuſt proceedings of the council: refuſes to ſign a comptant at the queen's requeſt. Quarrels in full council with the duke of Bouillon. Diſputes in the court and council. Coronation of Lewis XIII. Sully goes to Montrond, and is taken ill there: reaſons for the queen regent and the miniſters recalling him: the reception given him by this princeſs, who afterwards takes part with Conchini and the miniſters againſt him. His reſolution in oppoſing the unjuſt demands of the grandees, and the diſſipation of the royal treaſures: the uneaſineſs he ſuffers on this occaſion. He quarrels with Villeroi and D'Alincourt in full council. The princes, lords, and miniſters, enter into a confederacy againſt him. He takes a reſolution to retire for ever from court: different opinions concerning his retreat. Sully reſigns the ſuperintendance of the finances, the government of the Baſtile, &c. The prudent advice which he gives his ſecretaries: their obligations to him. He prevents the artifices of his enemies to ruin him: his letters to the queen regent for this purpoſe, in which he juſtifies his conduct, and his adminiſtration: the queen's anſwers. The king encreaſes his penſion. He gives a general account of his public and private conduct; of his wealth; and of his domeſtic affairs: his faithful performance of the promiſes he made to Henry IV.

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SUMMARY of the THIRTIETH BOOK.

DISCUSSION of the political ſcheme, commonly called the Great Deſign of Henry IV. Preliminary conſiderations upon the Roman empire, upon the eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy, upon the different governments of the three races of our kings, &c. The poſſibility of the great deſign proved: Henry with difficulty makes Sully approve of it: in what manner Elizabeth and this prince formed it. Favourable and unfavourable events. The advantage of this ſcheme to all Europe. That part of the political ſcheme which regards religion, conſiſting in peaceably maintaining the religions received in Europe, and in driving the infidels from them. The political part, which conſiſts in eſtabliſhing fifteen equal monarchies; in reducing the power of the houſe of Auſtria; and dividing what it was deprived of among the princes and republics of Europe. Means of indemnifying himſelf, and of proving the equity of his proceedings. The moderation and diſintereſtedneſs of France in this diviſion. Eſtabliſhment of a general council of the chriſtian republics. Negotiations and other means employed to induce the princes and ſtates of Europe to engage in the great deſign. Account of the forces, and the expences neceſſary for the execution of it. The march and diſpoſition of the armies of the confederate princes: the probable reſult of it.

SUPPLEMENT to the LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY, after his RETREAT.

CONDUCT of the duke of Sully in the aſſembly of the proteſtants at Châtelleraut; and of this aſſembly with regard to the perſonal affairs of Sully: the part he has in the duke of Rohan's diſputes

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diſputes with the queen regent on account of St. John d'Angely. The queen regent's reliance upon him; and the letters which ſhe writes to him during the rebellion of the princes and the proteſtants. Councils which he gives her; and the ſervices he performs on this occaſion. He is made marſhal of France. His diſcontent with his ſon and grandſon. State of his family; and the diſpoſition which he makes of his eſtates among his children. His death. Honours paid him by the ducheſs of Sully. His tomb and epitaph. An account of his domeſtic conduct, and of his private life. Occupations of the ducheſs his wife. The duke of Sully's ſentiments upon religion. His public and private buildings.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXVIII.

THE reader must not expect to see in these Memoirs a particular relation of that execrable crime: my grief is renewed by the sad remembrance, nor shall I cease to lament it but when I cease to live. It is with astonishment that I behold persons capable of hearing and speaking with coldness and insensibility of the greatest misfortune which ever befel this kingdom; in me the thoughts of it is attended with such horror, that I turn my eyes as much as possible from that deplorable object, and my tongue refuses to pronounce the name of the abominable monster*, who was the cause of all our miseries; while inwardly I im- 1610.

* Francis Ravaillac was born at Angoulême, where he followed the profession of a schoolmaster, and was at that time between thirty-one and thirty-two years old. Matthieu thinks he was mad; but I can find nothing in his discourse, either during his imprisonment, or at the time of his execution; that affords any reason to charge him with madness, taking that word in its most usual sense, but only with fool-hardiness, fury, and a distempered mind. He was brought, on Thursday the 27th of May, before the church of Notre-Dame, where he performed the *amende honorable*; from thence he was carried to the Grève, and there his breast, arms, thighs, &c. were torn with red hot pincers, &c. he holding the knife in his right hand; after that, melted lead, and boiling oil and pitch, were poured on his wounds; and at last he was torn to pieces by four horses; his members were burned, and his ashes thrown into the air. The furious crowd were every mo-

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1610. plore the divine vengeance againſt him, and againſt thoſe that armed his impious hand; the public outcry directs us to the authors of this deteſtable plot; nor can I hinder myſelf from exclaiming, with all the world, againſt a circumſtance of which no one is ignorant. After the parricide had perpetrated his horrid deſign, he was guarded with ſo little care in the houſe* to which he was firſt carried, that during four hours all ſorts of perſons were permitted to ſee him and talk to him; and certain perſons, whom it is not neceſſary to name here, made ſuch an imprudent uſe of this liberty, that they were heard to call him *Friend*, and bid him, I repeat their own words, *take care that he did not accuſe good men who were innocent, and good catholics*, becauſe that would be an unpardonable crime, and worthy of eternal damnation. Some perſons, truly ſcandalized at what they ſaw, loudly exclaimed againſt ſuch negligence; which obliged them afterwards to guard the murderer with more care.

However that may be, ſuch was the tragical end of a prince, on whom nature, with a laviſh profuſion, had beſtowed all her advantages, except that of a death ſuch as he merited. I have already obſerved, that his ſtature was ſo happy, and his limbs formed with ſuch proportion, as conſtitutes not only what is called a well-made man, but indicates

ment ready to ruſh upon him and tear him to pieces, and refuſed to ſing the *ſalve*. He was ſomewhat tall and bulky, and of ſo robuſt a make, that the horſes could not tear him to pieces, but the executioner was obliged to cut him into quarters, which the populace dragged about the city, &c. See the hiſtorians quoted above. Paſquier ſays he was related, on the mother's ſide, to Poltrot, who aſſaſſinated the duke of Guiſe; ibid. p. 32. I do not find there is any appearance of truth in what Guy-Patin relates, letter 122. that Ravaillac had a brother who died in Holland, and who, on his death-bed, declared, that if his brother had miſcarried in his attempt, he himſelf would have undertaken the ſame thing, to revenge, as he ſaid, the injury Henry IV. had done them in debauching their ſiſter, and neglecting her afterwards.

* In the hôtel of Retz. L'Etoile ſays he was carried the next day from the hôtel of Epernon to the Conciergerie.

ſtrength,

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ſtrength, vigour, and activity*; his complexion was animated; all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable livelineſs † which forms a ſweet and happy phyſiognomy, and perfectly ſuited to that engaging eaſineſs of manners which, though ſometimes mixed with majeſty, never loſt the graceful affability and eaſy gaiety ‡ ſo natural to that great 1610.

* "Henry IV. ſays Le-Grain, "was of a middling ſtature, rather tall than low; his fore-"head was broad, his noſe aquiline "and royal, his mouth well made, "and his lips red," &c. Decade de Henry le Grand, book i. Morizot, being worſe informed, ſays, on the contrary, that he was low, and of ſquare make; and aſſerts, that he dreſſed himſelf nearly in the ſame manner in winter as in ſummer, chap. 49.

† D'Aubigné informs us, that he had an extreme piercing ſight, and (to make uſe of his own words) a monſtrous quick hearing; of which he gives this convincing proof: "The king, ſays he, being "in bed at La-Garnache, in a large "ſtate chamber; and his bed, be-"ſides the curtains, being ſur-"rounded with a thick frize; "Frontenac and I laid in the op-"poſite corner of the room, in a "bed furniſhed in the ſame man-"ner; and joking about the king; "I having my lips cloſe to his ear, "and lowering my voice as much "as poſſible, he often aſked, What "doſt thou ſay? The king an-"ſwered, Deaf as you are, can't "you hear he ſays, I want to "make two friends by doing one "good office? We got off by de-"ſiring him to go to ſleep, for we "had ſtill a great deal more to ſay "of him." Vol. III. chap. xxi. The anſwer which the duke of Bellegarde made to this prince, is much of the ſame kind with this; when both of them lying in the ſame room, ſhortly after the death of Henry III. Henry IV. waked Bellegarde three or four times in the night; to perſuade him to give up ſome of the poſts he enjoyed, in favour of ſome perſons the king named to him: "I will with all "my heart, ſire," ſays the maſter of the horſe at laſt; "but, for "God's ſake, don't wake any "more." This taſte for raillery and joking, as is always the caſe on ſuch occaſions, from the prince's example, paſſed to his courtiers: and Siri, with ſome appearance of reaſon, blames Henry IV. on this account, condemning it as a fault in a king; raillery never failing to create quarrels amongſt the great, and always diminiſhing the reverence due to the prince: he produces many examples of this. Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 560.

‡ The hiſtory of Henry IV. furniſhes innumerable inſtances of his turn for pleaſantry, and of his affable and popular manner of addreſs; which perhaps contributed more than his great qualities to procure him the love of the people. "The king," ſay the Mem. for the hiſt. of France, vol. II. p. 277. "going one day to the Louvre, "and meeting a poor woman driving a cow, he ſtopt her, and "aſked the price of the cow: the "woman having told him the price, "*Ventre ſaint gris!* ſays the king, "ſhe is not worth that; I will "give you ſo much. I ſee, re-"plied the woman, you are not "a dealer in cows. What makes "you think ſo? ſays the king, "who had many noblemen with "him; Don't you ſee all theſe "calves are following me?" His gardener at Fontainebleau once complaining to him, that he could

1610. prince. With regard to the qualities of his heart and mind, I ſhall tell the reader nothing new, by ſaying that he was candid, ſincere, grateful, compaſſionate, generous *, wiſe, penetrating; in a word, endowed with all thoſe great and amiable qualities which in theſe Memoirs he has ſo often had occaſion of admiring in him.

not make any thing grow in that ſoil: "Friend," ſays Henry, looking at the duke of Epernon, "ſow "it with Gaſcoons, they will "thrive any where." A man who was an extraordinary great eater being ſhewn him, he ſaid, "*Ventre ſaint-gris!* if I had ſixmen "like thee in my kingdom I ſhould "hang them all; ſuch raſcals "would ſoon create a famine." It is alſo related of him, that having one day boaſted to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he would go to breakfaſt at Milan, hear Maſs at Rome, and dine at Naples; that ambaſſador anſwered, "Sire, if "your majeſty goes ſo faſt, perhaps "you may go to veſpers in Sicily." He was never diſpleaſed at any repartees that were made to him of this kind. Matthieu ſays, not one of his court was able to tell a ſtory ſo agreeable as he.

* "As to his enemies, he al-"ways ſpoke of them with reſpect, "even when he was very young, "how much ſoever he was offend-"ed with them: he never named "any one of his enemies without "giving him the title of Monſieur." Le-Grain's Decade, b. viii. "All "the foreſts in my kingdom would "not be ſufficient, ſaid he, to fur-"niſh timber for gallows, if all "thoſe who have wrote or preach-"ed againſt me were to be hanged." When he had been prevailed on to read ſome libels on the late queen, his mother, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, ſaying, "O, the wretch! "but he returned to France under "protection of my paſſport; and "I will not have any harm done to "him." Merc. Franç. ann. 1610. pa. 428. He ſhewed not the ſame indulgence where offence was given to other perſons as in his own caſe. "On Twelfth-day, as the king "was going to receive the commu-"nion, M. de Roquelaure, judg-"ing this the fitteſt opportunity "to apply for the pardon he was "deſirous to obtain for Saint-"Chamand (Francis d'Hautefort) "his couſin, who had cauſed the "lieutenant-general de Tulles "(Peter de Fenis, ſieur du Teil) to "be whipped, without any reaſon, "and for which his majeſty had "ordered him to be exemplarily "puniſhed, came to the king, and "beſought him to pardon Saint-"Chamand, for the love of that "God he was going to receive, "and who would only forgive "thoſe who had forgave thoſe that "had offended them: whom the "king anſwered, fixing his eyes "on him, Be gone, and let me "alone; I am ſurpriſed you dare "make this requeſt to me, when "I am going to declare to God, "my reſolution to do juſtice, and "to aſk his pardon for not having "done it." Mem. pour l'hiſt. de France, vol. II. p. 262. He replied to M. le Grand, who importuned him in favour of the ſon of the count de La-Martiniere, who was condemned to ſuffer death for having killed his ſiſter; "That "after he was executed he would "grant him his aſhes: to another "nobleman he ſaid, If he had "been the father of that wretch "he would not have interceded for "him. He made a merry, though "a chriſtian, reply to another: "*Ventre-ſaint-gris!* ſaid he to him,

He

He loved all his ſubjects as a father, and the whole ſtate as the head of a family: and this diſpoſition it was, that recalled him even from the midſt of his pleaſures, to the care of rendering his people happy, and his kingdom flouriſhing: hence proceeded his readineſs in conceiving, and his induſtry in perfecting, a great number of uſeful regulations; many I have already ſpecified: and I ſhall ſum up all, by ſaying, that there were no conditions, employments, or profeſſions, to which his reflections did not extend; and that with ſuch clearneſs and penetration, that the changes he projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author, as it but too often happened in this monarchy. It was his deſire, he ſaid, that glory might influence his laſt years, and make them, at once, uſeful to the world, and acceptable to God: his was a mind, in which the ideas of what is great, uncommon, and beautiful, ſeemed to riſe of themſelves: hence it was, that he looked upon adverſity as a mere tranſitory evil, and proſperity as his natural ſtate. He had drained fens, in order to a greater work than any he had yet undertaken, which was, to make, by canals, a communication from ſea to ſea, and from river to river: he wanted only time to complete this noble project. 1610.

He often ſaid, that there were ten things which he intreated God to grant him, from whence aroſe that ſaying, *The ten wiſhes of Henry* IV. He had not the good fortune to obtain them all: they were as follows. 1. Grace, and ſpiritual bleſſings. 2. To preſerve till death the uſe of all the faculties of his mind and body. 3. To ſee the religion he had formerly profeſſed in a fixed and peaceful ſituation. 4. To be delivered from his wife (it is the firſt he here means) and to find one whoſe temper ſuited

" ſcratching his head, I have ſins " enough on my head already, " without adding this to them." L'Etoile, part ii. p. 115. Somebody wanting to perſuade him to puniſh the author of the Iſle des Hermaphrodites, " It would offend my conſcience, ſays he, to " give any man trouble for only " ſpeaking the truth."

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1610. with his own, that would bring him princes whom he might live to form and educate himſelf. 5. To reſtore France to its ancient ſplendor. 6. To gain from Spain, by conqueſt, either Navarre, or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in perſon againſt the king of Spain, and another againſt the Grand Seignior; a piece of good fortune for which he greatly envied Don John of Auſtria. 8. To bring back to its duty, without being obliged to have recourſe to violent meaſures, the huguenot faction, headed by the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, &c. And on this ſubject he added a 9th, To ſee thoſe two men, and the duke of Epernon, reduced to implore his clemency. It was a long time before he would declare the 10th, which regarded the accompliſhment of his great deſigns: and as in thoſe deſigns he had two principal objects in view, it was neceſſary to divide this wiſh into two; and firſt, with regard to religion, he was deſirous of reducing that prodigious number of religions with which all Europe was filled and divided, to three principal ones at leaſt, ſince it was not poſſible to re-unite them all under one ſole faith: the other was wholly political, and related to the number, the territory, and equality, of the European powers, of whom he deſigned to compoſe that kind of great republic upon the plan I ſhall give the reader preſently.

I ſhould deſtroy all I have now ſaid of this great prince, if, after having praiſed him for an infinite number of qualities well worthy to be praiſed, I did not acknowledge that they were ballanced by faults, and thoſe indeed very great. I have not concealed, or even palliated his paſſion for women; his exceſs in gaming; his gentleneſs often carried to weakneſs; nor his propenſity to every kind of pleaſure: I have neither diſguiſed the faults they made him commit, the fooliſh expences they led him into, nor the time they made him waſte: but I have likewiſe obſerved, to do juſtice on both ſides, that his enemies have greatly

greatly exaggerated all these errors. If he was, as they say, a slave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of ministers, decided the destinies of his servants, or influenced the deliberations of his council. As much may be said in extenuation of all his other faults. And to sum up all, in a word, what he has done is sufficient to shew, that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and that since honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleasure, we ought to acknowledge them to be his great and real passions. 1610.

I have a letter by me, which he made Loménie write for him, because he had, as he said, a slight hurt in his thumb; it is dated from Chantilly, April 8, but without date of the year. I believe the reader will not be displeased to hear him speak himself upon this subject. At the beginning of the letter he tells me, that his reason for entering upon it with me, was the public discourse concerning him; for he used to divert himself with hearing all that was said of him, from Roquelaure, Frontenac, Le-Riviere, Du-Laurens, d'Auramburc, Morlas, Salette, La-Varenne, Bonniers, Du-John, Béringhen, L'Oserai, Armagnac, Jacquinot, Perroton, and some others with whom he conversed familiarly, and who often acquitted themselves very faithfully of the order he gave them, to conceal from him nothing that was said to his disadvantage.

He began with telling me, that his enemies accused him with having neglected and despised (those are his words) the greatest and most deserving men in the kingdom; and consuming, in vain and useless expences, that money which they alledged would be better employed in gratuities to them*. "Some,

* "They say I am niggardly, "says he; but I do three things "very inconsistent with a covetous "disposition; for I make war, I "make love, and I build." Le-Grain, book viii. "Some looked "on him as a covetous man, but "they could be only those who "did not know the great necessi-"ties he had to struggle with; "which were even so great, that "during the siege of Dieppe, he

1610. "purſued he, blame me for being too fond o "buildings and great works; others, for liking "hunting, dogs, and birds; one ſays, that I have "a paſſion for cards, dice, and other kinds of "gaming; another condemns me for my attach-"ment to women, to the pleaſures of the table, to "aſſemblies, plays, balls, running at the ring, "and other amuſements of that kind*; where, "ſay they, I appear as gay and lively, with my "grey beard, and am as proud of having gained "the goal, and received a ring from ſome fair lady, "as I could have been in my youth, or as the "vaineſt young fellow of the court. I do not "deny (adds he) but there is ſome truth in all this; "but if I am guilty of no exceſſes in theſe plea-"ſures, my conduct deſerves more praiſe than "blame; and indeed ſome little indulgences I "ought to have, in amuſements which bring no "inconvenience upon my people, in conſideration "of the labours I have endured from my infancy "to fifty years old. I have heard you ſay, when "any one cenſured your actions, that we are not "commanded by ſcripture to have abſolutely no "ſins and errors, becauſe there are ſome infirmities "inſeparable from humanity; but only not to ſuffer "them to enſlave us and controul our wills: and "this has been my endeavour, ſince I could not "do better †. You know that on many occaſions

"could truly ſay, He was a king "without a kingdom, a huſband "without a wife, and that he made "war without money." Merc. Franç. ann. 1610. p. 485.

* "At feaſts he was lively; at "tournaments as expert as any "one; he was gay over a bottle, "tho' naturally grave; his ſpright-"lineſs, and the ſmartneſs of his "repartees, furniſhed the moſt "pleaſing part of the feaſt: he "diſcovered as much addreſs and "courage at tilts, running at the "ring, and in all other gentleman-"like exerciſes, as any one of the "young nobility: he even took "delight in balls, and ſometimes "danced, though, to ſpeak the "truth, with more ſpirit than "gracefulneſs." Peteſixe, p. 380.

† "I every day, ſaid this prince, "pray to God for three things; "firſt, that he would be pleaſed "to pardon my enemies; ſecondly, "to grant me the victory over my "paſſions, and eſpecially ſenſu-"ality; thirdly, that I may make "a right uſe of the authority he "has given me, and never abuſe "it. I would willingly do as "they ſay," added he, ſpeaking

"wherein

" wherein my miſtreſſes have been concerned (and 1610.
" my paſſion for women is, of all others, ſaid to
" have the moſt empire over me) I have ſupported
" you againſt them, and have gone ſo far as to tell
" them, that I would rather loſe ten ſuch miſtreſſes
" as they, than one ſuch ſervant as you: and this,
" I aſſure you, you ſhall hear me ſay again, if ne-
" ceſſary; for when an opportunity offers for exe-
" cuting thoſe glorious deſigns which you know
" I have long formed, you ſhall find that I can
" quit my miſtreſſes, dogs, horſes, gaming, build-
" ings, and entertainments, to acquire honour and
" fame; for I hold it to be my principal duty, next
" to thoſe I have to God, my wife, my children,
" my faithful ſervants and my people, whom I love
" as my children *, to make myſelf be eſteemed as
" a prince who is religiouſly faithful to his word."
&c.

But it is now time to reſume the diſagreeable recital of what happened after the death of this good prince: however painful that recital may appear to me, theſe Memoirs ought not to conclude till that period, when I ceaſed to have a ſhare in the affairs of the government.

Amidſt the firſt tranſports of my grief at the news of my dear maſter's death, I fancied, that though mortally wounded, ſome little remains of life might ſtill be left him; and my mind eagerly welcoming this faint ray of hope and conſolation, " Give me my cloaths and boots, ſaid I to thoſe
" that were about me, and ſaddle ſome of my beſt
" horſes, for I will not uſe a coach, and let all my
" gentlemen hold themſelves in readineſs to ac-
" company me." I had then only a few of my ſervants with me; for all the others, believing that

of the remonſtrances ſometimes made to him by the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics, " but they do " not think I know what they " do." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 838.

* " I have only two eyes and " two feet, ſaid this good prince; " in what reſpect then do I differ " from my ſubjects, but that I am " inveſted with the power of ex- " ecuting juſtice?"

I was

1610. I was too much indiſpoſed to go out, or even to be dreſſed, had diſperſed ſeveral ways; but the report of the king's being wounded, which was ſoon ſpread over all quarters of the city, had brought them all together again before I had mounted my horſe, and with them ſo many other perſons, who were particularly attached to me; that I had ſcarcely reached the houſe of Beaumarchais, when I had above an hundred horſe in my train; which in a few moments, more, was increaſed to an hundred and fifty; for as I advanced, I met ſeveral of the king's faithful ſervants, who were coming to my houſe, to aſk my advice concerning what meaſures they ſhould take in this moſt miſerable conjuncture. The univerſal grief * and conſternation which I now beheld, was a proof how tenderly this good prince was beloved in his capital. Nothing could be more affecting than the different ways by which the citizens and populace of this great city expreſſed their affection and their ſorrow: groans, tears, loud cries

* The deſcription Péréfixe gives of it, p. 415. is quite affecting: "When the report of this tragical accident had been ſpread all over Paris, and it was certainly known that the king, who at firſt was thought to be only wounded, was actually dead, that mixture of hope and fear, which till then had kept this great city in ſuſpence, at once burſt forth in loud cries and violent groans; ſome became motionleſs and inſenſible, thro' grief; others ran about the ſtreets, quite frantic: many embraced their friends without ſaying any thing to them, but, *Alas! what a misfortune!* ſome ſhut themſelves up in their houſes; others threw themſelves on the ground; one might ſee women with their hair diſhevelled, crying and lamenting; fathers ſaid to their children, What will become of you? you have loſt your father. Thoſe who had greater apprehenſions for the future, and who remembred the horrible calamities of the late civil wars, deplored the misfortunes of France, and ſaid, that the fatal ſtroke which had pierced the heart of the king, at the ſame time gave a deadly wound to every Frenchman. It was ſaid, many were ſo ſtrongly affected by this event, that they died on the ſpot, others in a few days afterwards. In ſhort, it was not the appearance of a mourning for one ſingle man, but as if the half of all mankind were dead. One would have thought every one had loſt all his family, poſſeſſions and hopes, by the death of this great king. All kings and princes, adds the hiſtorian Matthieu, lamented his death.—The king of Spain, compelled by truth and grief, declared, that the greateſt commander on earth was dead.—The Venetians ſaid, Our king is dead." Ibid. p. 834.

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of grief, a mournful ſilence, arms raiſed towards heaven, claſped hands; ſome ſtriking their boſoms, others ſhaking their heads with a melancholy air. This was the ſpectacle which was every where preſented to my view; ſome of them looking dejectedly upon me, ſaid, "Ah! monſieur, we are all undone, our good king is dead." 1610.

As I paſſed through the ſtreet de la Pourpointerie, a man whom I had not perceived before paſſed cloſe by me, and put a billet into my hands, which I gave to ſome of thoſe who were neareſt me to read; it contained only theſe few words, "Monſieur, where are you going? it is done; I have "ſeen him dead; if you enter the Louvre you will "not eſcape any more than him." This billet gave me a dreadful certainty of what I was ſeeking to know. I could not hinder myſelf from burſting into tears: the ſad truth was confirmed to me a thouſand different ways. Du-John, whom I met near Saint-Innocent, ſaid to me, "Monſieur, our evil "is without remedy. God has diſpoſed of him; "I know it; I have ſeen him ſpeechleſs: take care "of yourſelf, for this ſtrange blow muſt have fa"tal conſequences." On entering the ſtreet Saint-Honoré, another billet, like the former, was thrown to me; yet I ſtill continued my courſe to the Louvre. My train was now increaſed to three hundred horſe, when I met Vitry at the end of the ſtreet, he came and embraced me, breaking out into lamentable cries, which it was not in his power to reſtrain; never did I behold a man in ſuch affliction! "Ah! "monſieur, cried he, they have murdered our good "maſter; he is dead; France is ruined: as for me, "I am perſuaded I have but a ſhort time to live; "I am going out of France, never more to return "to it; we muſt now bid farewell to that order "and regularity you had eſtabliſhed. But, mon"ſieur, ſaid he afterwards, where are you going "with this train? they will not ſuffer you to ap"proach the Louvre, nor to enter there with more "than

1610. " than two or three attendants, which I would not
" adviſe you to do *; for I am greatly deceived if
" this plot ends here. I have ſeen ſome perſons,
" who have ſo little ſenſibility of the loſs they have

*By all the duke of Sully's expreſſions here one may perceive he thought it incumbent upon him to juſtify himſelf againſt a fault he is accuſed of having committed on this occaſion.-- Marechal Baſſompierre ſpeaks of it as follows: "As " we came out, going towards St. " Anthony's ſtreet, we met the " duke of Sully, with about forty " horſe, who, as he approached, " ſaid to us with a melancholy ac- " cent, Gentlemen, if your vows of " ſervice to the king, whom we have " juſt now moſt unhappily loſt, " have made that impreſſion on " your minds, which they ought " on that of every good French- " man, ſwear on the ſpot, that you " will ſerve the king his ſon and " ſucceſſor, with the ſame fidelity " as you did him; and that you " will venture your perſons and " lives in revenging his death." I " anſwered him, "Sir, we are oblig- " ing others to take this oath, and " have no need to be adviſed to per- " form what we think ourſelves ſo " ſtrongly bound to do." I do not " know whether my anſwer ſur- " prized him, or whether he repent- " ed of having come ſo far from " his fortreſs; but he immediately " turning about, left us, and went " and ſhut himſelf up in the Baſ- " tile, ſending at the ſame time to " ſeize all the bread in the markets " and bakers ſhops. He alſo ſent " in great haſte to M. de Rohan, " his ſon-in-law, to make him " come back, with ſix thouſand " Swiſs, who were in Champaigne, " and of whom he was colonel-ge- " neral, to march directly to Paris; " which was afterwards made uſe " of as a pretext to exclude him " from the management of affairs: " beſides this, meſſieurs de Praſlin " and de Crequy, who came to " ſummon him for that purpoſe, " could never perſuade him to " wait on the king, as all the other " great men did; nor did he go till " the next day, when the duke of " Guiſe, with difficulty, prevailed " on him to go: after which, he " countermanded his ſon-in-law, " with the Swiſs, who had already " advanced a day's march towards " Paris." Vol. I. p. 300. L'Etoile only ſays, " M. de Sully, more " dead than alive, came to wait on " the queen, who received him " kindly, continued him in all his " poſts, and ſent him to the Arſe- " nal to exerciſe the duties of his " office." Mem. hiſt. de France, p. 309. But his commentator appears to be of the ſame opinion with Baſſompierre, from whom he quotes in the margin the paſſage we have recited here. The author of L'Hiſtoire de la mere et du fils, inveighs violently on this account againſt M. de Sully, though without making mention of his ſeizing the bread, or recalling the Swiſs. He only accuſes this miniſter of giving way, with too much weakneſs, to the fear he had conceived of his enemies about the queen. " Some " of his friends, ſays he, did every " thing in their power to engage " him to the performance of his " duty, and to get the better of his " apprehenſions and fears: but as " perſons of the greateſt courage, " on ſome occaſions become fear- " ful and timorous, it was for " ſome time impoſſible to inſpire " him with reſolution enough for " this purpoſe. It was a long " time before he could recover his " courage. Towards the evening, " Saint-Geran, whom he had o- " bliged, and who profeſſed a great " friendſhip for him, coming to " him, at laſt prevailed on him to " quit the Arſenal and go to the " Louvre. When he came to the

" ſuſtained, that they cannot even diſſemble the 1610.
" grief they ought to feel for it: this I have ob-
" ſerved, and am ready to burſt with rage at it:
" and if you was to ſee them, you would think as
" I do. I am of opinion that you ought to go
" back; there is buſineſs enough for you to do, with-
" uot going to the Louvre."

This agreement of diſcourſes, billets and advices, ſtruck me at length: I ſtopped ſhort, and after con-

" Croix-du-Trahoir, his appre-
" henſions ſeized him again, and
" ſo powerfully, by reaſon of ſome
" intelligence he received at that
" place, that he went back, with
" fifty or ſixty horſe, who accom-
" panied him to the Baſtile, of
" which he was captain; having
" deſired M. de Saint-Geran to go
" and make his excuſes to the
" queen, and aſſure her of his fi-
" delity and readineſs to ſerve
" her. Vol. I. p. 49.

Viewing this account in the moſt unfavourable light, diſadvantageous as it is to the duke of Sully, it can only give room to blame him for having carried his precaution, againſt any attempt on his perſon (which was looked on as chimerical) too far; but the hiſtorian Matthieu, the beſt informed of all thoſe writers, acquaints us, that the fear this miniſter had conceived was not ſo groundleſs as his enemies have repreſented. He ſpeaks of this matter in the following manner: " They had raiſed jea-
" louſies in the queen of the duke
" of Sully, and ſhe had been ad-
" viſed to ſecure his perſon, be-
" cauſe he had the Baſtile, the Ar-
" ſenal, and the king's money, in
" his poſſeſſion. He had been
" bathing that day, and being ad-
" vertiſed of this unhappy acci-
" dent, he got on horſeback to go
" to the Louvre; but coming to
" the Croix-du-Trahoir, followed
" by about forty gentlemen, he
" received ſome advices which
" made him return. The queen
" ſent the duke of Guiſe to fetch
" him to her; who found him in
" the great walk in his garden,
" on the ſide next to the Baſtile,
" and acquainted him with the
" queen's orders. He deſired
" to be excuſed, becauſe he had
" notice given him that ſome de-
" ſigns were formed againſt him.
" —The determination he came to,
" on conſulting with the duke of
" Guiſe, the count of Bethune,
" and ſome other friends, was to
" ſtay at home the reſt of that day,
" and to ſee the queen on the day
" following, when the duke of
" Guiſe promiſed to come and
" fetch him, and aſſured him, that
" he and all his friends would
" loſe their lives before they would
" ſuffer any harm to be done him.
" —He went back to the queen,
" and got her approbation of the
" conſiderations that detained the
" duke of Sully, upon the promiſe
" he had made of coming to wait
" on her the next day. Immedi-
" ately afterwards the duke of Sul-
" ly, with a good number of gen-
" tlemen, went into the Baſtile,
" where he had cauſed all the bread
" to be brought that was found in
" the bakers ſhops in Paris." &c.
Hiſt. of Lewis XIII. p. 2 and 3.
If we add to this, what the duke of Sully ſays of the notice he had received from every quarter, that this blow would be followed by terrible conſequences which were not expected, we ſhall perhaps be convinced, that it was only prudent in this miniſter to act thus, for the ſake of the public tranquility and his own ſafety.

ſulting

1610. ſulting with Vitry, and ten or twelve of the principal perſons who followed me, I thought it was the moſt prudent way to return home; and accordingly I contented myſelf with ſending to offer my duty and ſervices to the queen; and to aſſure her, at the ſame time, that till ſhe acquainted me with her orders, I would, with ſtill greater aſſiduity than before, attend to the care of the Baſtile, the Arſenal, the forces and ordnance, and all the affairs of my government, and other employments.

I had but juſt entered the ſtreet Saint-Antoine, and the gentlemen whom I ſent with this meſſage could not have had time to deliver it, when I ſaw a meſſenger from the queen, who intreated me, from her, to come inſtantly to the Louvre, and to bring as few perſons poſſible with me, having things of great conſequence to impart to me. This propoſal of going alone to the Louvre to deliver myſelf into the hands of my enemies, with whom I knew it was full, was not very proper to remove my ſuſpicions. Beſides, I was that moment informed, that an exempt of the guards, and ſome archers, had been ſeen at the firſt gates of the Arſenal; that others had been ſent to the Temple, where the powder was lodged; and ſome to the treaſurer of the Exchequer, to ſtop all the money there. I drew ſo unfavourable an augury from all this being done without conſulting me, that I did not heſitate a moment about the anſwer I ſhould ſend to the queen. I ſent a gentleman to tell her, that I was very certain, when ſhe had heard what the perſon whom I had the honour to depute to her had to ſay, ſhe would enter into my reaſons, and alter her opinion; and that I would expect her anſwer at the Arſenal and the Baſtile, from whence I ſhould not remove.

The queen did not ſtop there; ſhe ſent to me immediately meſſieurs de Montbazon, de Praſlin, de Schomberg, La-Varenne, and after them my brother. I knew not what to think of this importunity; but when I ſaw them all arrive within a quarter

ter of an hour of each other, my ſuſpicions were increaſed, and I reſolved not to go to the Louvre that day: the condition I was in was alone a ſufficient excuſe. The effort I had made after my bathing in the morning, and after a very ſlight repaſt; the ſtate of my mind, far more painful than that of my body; both together had thrown me into ſo violent a ſweat, that my cloaths were quite wet; and into ſo great a weakneſs, that I could no longer ſupport myſelf; therefore, as ſoon as I got to my apartment in the Baſtile, whither I firſt went, I was obliged to change my ſhirt, and go into bed, where I was reſolved to continue till the next day. The conſtable and the duke of Epernon came to viſit me, and offered me their ſervices; and the manner in which they adviſed me to wait upon the queen making me judge I might do it without running any danger, I at length yielded, upon the condition they ſtill inſiſted on, that I ſhould be attended only by a ſmall number of perſons: and I reſolved to go to the Louvre the next day. 1610.

Three hundred perſons on horſeback waited for my coming out, that they might accompany me as the day before; theſe were all either relations, friends, or perſons ſeemingly attached to me from the appearance of the new favour I was likely to be in, or perhaps from the ſhame of quitting me too precipitately. I thanked them all, and told them my reaſons for not admitting of an eſcort that might appear in any degree remarkable, and for confining myſelf to that ſmall number which uſually compoſed my train. And accordingly it was with my own domeſtics only, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, that I arrived at the Louvre. On my entrance, I perceived the marks of a ſincere grief in thoſe who had by any employment been attached to the deceaſed king: of theſe, the officers and ſubalterns ſeemed to feel, with the moſt tender ſenſibility, the public loſs. As I paſſed through the ſeveral gates I could ſee them advance to meet and embrace me with tears in their eyes, or groan, as they ſaw

1610. saw me pass, and earnestly conjure me not to abandon the children, after having so well served the father.

It is with regret I am obliged to confess, that the inner part of the palace, and what is called the court, presented me an object greatly different; there I only saw faces either calm and composed, and, which afflicted me so much the more, as they endeavoured, but in vain, to appear afflicted; or faces so gay, as added indignation to my grief. When I came into the queen's presence, all the little constancy with which I had armed myself so totally left me, that I broke into tears and cries. She no longer found in herself that fortitude with which she had prepared to see me: and we together made up a scene truly affecting. She gave orders that the young king should be brought to me, whose tender caresses gave a new assault to my heart, which I could with the utmost difficulty sustain. I cannot remember what this young prince then said to me, or what I said to him; all I know is, that they were scarce able to tear him from my arms, in which I held him closely embraced. "My son, said the queen his mother to "him, this is M. de Sully; you must love him "well, for he was one of the best and most faith-"ful servants of the king your father, and I en-"treat him to continue to serve you in the same "manner." The queen and I had some other discourse together, without being able to cease weeping for a moment: she afterwards said, that it was the sight of me, and one other person in the court with which she had been most affected.

A reception attended with such marks of distinction and confidence, reduced all the princes, lords, and members of the council, who were near the queen, to the necessity of outvying each other in protestations of friendship, service, and attachment: yet certainly they did not deceive me, for I knew their hearts as well as themselves: I was convinced already, that in the scheme they had formed of taking

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ing advantage of the preſent conjuncture, to in- 1610.
creaſe their riches, and arrogate new dignities to themſelves, though at the expence of the good of the ſtate, the honour of the king, and the public welfare, I might be ſure of being the mark at which all their blows would be aimed; becauſe they themſelves, in the firmneſs of my mind, and the ſeverity of my regulations, had reaſon to expect inſurmountable obſtacles to their deſigns: of this they had already examples ſo ſufficient to convince them, that the only part they had to take was to endeavour to get me removed entirely from the adminiſtration of affairs; therefore when, in the ſequel, they raiſed all ſorts of batteries againſt me in the queen's opinion (taking it for granted that they had not done it before) when the Jeſuits and their adherents made the nuncio ſolicit the arret for my diſmiſſion, when my partners in the council and the finances ſet Conchini and his wife to work, to inſinuate to the two princes of the blood, that they would never have any real authority while I continued to be at the head of affairs; and that if they removed me from the adminiſtration, it muſt neceſſarily fall into their hands; when they made all the others believe, that to depend upon Conchini was to be truly great; in a word, when I ſaw them all labouring with equal ardour for my fall, nothing more happened than what I had foreſeen and foretold.

The firſt thing the parliament proceeded to, after the king's death was declared, was to appoint the queen-mother regent. It was thought neceſſary that the young king ſhould go thither in perſon, to hold his bed of juſtice, and confirm this nomination*. The morning after the king's aſſaſſination was the

* See the form and particulars of this ceremony in the Merc. Franç. and other hiſtorians, anno 1610. In the council which met to adviſe whether the queen ought to go to the parliament, the duke of Sully only ſaid, "That as there "was no law to forbid the queen's "going to parliament, it was a "matter of indifference whether "ſhe went or not." Matthieu, ibid. p. 4.

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1610. day appointed for this ceremony. It was ſcarce light when I received a meſſage from the queen, deſiring I would attend his majeſty to the parliament. I made every excuſe I could think of to avoid it; I even feigned myſelf ſo much indiſpoſed, that it would be impoſſible for me to get out of bed that whole day. I felt indeed an extreme repugnance againſt doing what they required of me; but it was abſolutely neceſſary to give the queen this ſatisfaction, who importuned me inceſſantly. The ſound of the drums and muſical inſtruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears would but ill ſuit with the cries of gratulation and joy with which every place reſounded; I preſſed through the croud, and was amongſt the firſt in the hall of the Auguſtins, where the parliament was held.

Two or three cardinals, who, like me, had been deſirous of avoiding the preſs, were, with ſome other perſons, already in the hall, and had taken their ſeats at the upper end of the bench deſtined for the eccleſiaſtics, which was on the left ſide of the throne prepared for his majeſty: the biſhops of Langres, Beauvais, and Noyon, coming in afterwards, theſe gentlemen, who had taken it into their heads that their quality of peers gave them a right to precede the princes and cardinals in parliament, would not ſit below the latter, who they found had already placed themſelves, but went to the bench on the right hand, and took their places at the upper end of it: I found them there when I entered, and told them with great civility, that it was not their place, and adviſed them, as their friend, to go to the left ſide, ſince they could not expect that the temporal peers, who would enter immediately, would ſuffer them quietly to keep poſſeſſion of the right ſide. They were going to ſtun me with their uſual diſtinctions of peers of an older creation and ſpiritual peers, which in their opinions raiſed them greatly above the new dukes. The debate was not carried

to

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to any length by me; I only told them, that they would soon be convinced who was in the right: which accordingly happened. The affair was instantly decided, and they were obliged to go over to the left side; where, finding the cardinals not disposed to give them the upper hand, they chose to go out; rather than submit to this regulation, and did not assist at the ceremony. As for me, though I was present, I interposed no farther in the dispute. The queen had reason to be satisfied with what passed *; every thing was granted her, without even collecting the votes. 1610.

It was not long before I discovered, that although, in appearance, they seemed to neglect none of the formalities which are generally observed in the settling a lawful regency, although they would have the alterations, which they already suffered to be perceived in the administration, pass for the common and necessary effect of a change of government; in a word, although they strove to make it be believed, that their sole view, by this manner of government, was to give more strength and grandeur to the authority of an infant king: yet those by whose advice the queen acted, thought of nothing in reality but how, under this mask, to aggrandize themselves. All that show of regularity vanished upon a nearer view; while in its place, we beheld real violations of order, which terrified the few, the very few good subjects still remaining. I thought myself obliged, and in some degree entitled to make them sensible that I saw these abuses, and that I disapproved of them: but the time of free remonstrances, which the grief for the king's death the first day, and the distraction of affairs the second, suffered still to subsist, was past on the third: nor was it much longer before they entirely shook off the yoke of constraint, and appeared no more with a composure of behaviour, and an affectation of for-

* See the historians quoted before, for the manner of this ceremony.

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1610. row, which had done too much violence to their real ſentiments: ſtupidity, or the want of a true ſubject for joy, produced this effect in ſome; in others, their natural levity of temper; and in others, the mere movement of public and private affairs; but, above all, the fear of diſpleaſing thoſe perſons whoſe examples gave laws to the court.

Let us take a view then of this new world after the three firſt days. Were we to ſtop at appearances, and all that was done to ſtrike the eyes, the Louvre might have been thought to have ſtill mourned; all the refinements of melancholy pomp were to be found there; the hangings with which the ceilings, the walls, and floors were covered; the furniture, and all the apparatus of public mourning, made the apartments of ſtate in this palace look like the diſmal abode of death and ſorrow. But were we to go a little farther, and conſider the countenances and behaviour of thoſe who were appointed to do the honours of this ſad ceremony, the thing might appear a little doubtful; for if there were ſome among them who ſhed real tears, and whoſe groans indeed proceeded from the heart, there were others who gave ſufficient indications of very different emotions. But if we deſcend from thence, and viſit the lower apartments, which were called the ground-floors, there we may form a true notion of the diſpoſition all hearts were in; that magnificence which was baniſhed from every other part of the palace found an aſylum there: gold, purple, embroidery, and the moſt ſumptuous ornaments, made this a ſcene of pleaſure and delight; luxury was there in its utmoſt profuſion. Myſelf, and a ſmall number of true Frenchmen, never entered thoſe apartments, without feeling our hearts torn with grief and rage; to behold, in a place where every object ought to have reminded us of the public loſs, all the appearance of joy, triumph, and exultation. I bluſh to ſay, that notwithſtanding the artifice which was uſed to conceal this ſpectacle of inſenſibility and ingrati-

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tude from the eyes of the public, yet it was too often discloſed, by the burſts of laughter, the exclamations of joy, and the ſongs of gladneſs, which were heard to proceed from thoſe places: nor indeed were they filled with any but happy perſons, or thoſe that believed themſelves ſo. Here it was that the true court reſided, and where the councils were held, as well thoſe general ones which were called for ſhow, and compliance with cuſtom, as the private ones, wherein they knew how to render ineffectual all the prudent reſolutions that had been taken in the former. 1610.

The queen admitted none into theſe ſecret councils, which were held at the moſt unſeaſonable hours, but Conchini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the chancellor, and the chevalier de Sillery, the duke of Epernon, Villeroi, Jeannin, and Arnaud, (who, as well as Jeannin, from having been entirely devoted to me, became no leſs attached to Conchini) Duret the phyſician (who, however, ſoon fell from this high degree of favour) Dollé, and father Cotton. It is not difficult to gueſs the ſubjects of their conſultations; the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the renouncing of all the moſt ancient alliances of the crown with foreign princes, the repealing of all edicts of pacification, the deſtruction of the proteſtants, the expulſion of all of them who were in place, the diſgrace of thoſe who would not receive the yoke of the new favourites, the diſſipation of the treaſures amaſſed by the deceaſed king, and applied by them to bribe the covetous and ambitious to their intereſts, and to load with riches and authority thoſe who were going to be raiſed to the firſt dignities of the ſtate; in a word, a thouſand projects as pernicious to the king and the kingdom, as advantageous to our greateſt enemies, made up the grand object of all their views.

To the public council, which was held punctually every day, were ſummoned the prince of Conti and

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1610. the count of Soiſſons (the prince of Condé was not yet returned to France) the cardinal de Joyeuſe, the conſtable, the dukes of Maine and Guiſe, and the duke of Bouillon, as ſoon as he ſhould arrive, mareſchal Briſſac, Châteauneuf, Pontcarré De-Vic*, Caumartin, and myſelf. Some of theſe gentlemen loudly exclaimed againſt altering our ſyſtem of politics: but the ſubject moſt frequently diſcuſſed by this council, were upon the means of increaſing the royal revenues, of diminiſhing the taille and other impoſts, and of augmenting the penſions of the grandees, and procuring them ſeveral other advantages. The preſident Jeannin, ever loud and obſtinate, made himſelf be heard above all the others. It was ſaid, this man had been known to promiſe mountains of gold to every one. Some perſons, who ſtill retained the candour and frankneſs of the old council, and who could neither diſguiſe their own ſentiments, nor flatter thoſe of others, joined their endeavours to mine, to ſhew the groſs contradiction there was in pretending to increaſe the expences, while they were diminiſhing the revenues.

I was deſirous of avoiding the reproach of my own conſcience, for ſuffering, by my ſilence, ſuch maxims to gain ground: I at firſt combated them by arguments, and flattered myſelf, that if the advantage was to remain on the ſide of reaſon, we ſhould have carried our point; but we ſoon found that ignorance was but the leaſt of thoſe vices we had to encounter. It was by the moſt magnificent promiſes (of which, however, thoſe that related to the people's relief were never performed) that the new government ſought to make friends, and to obliterate, and even to bring into contempt, that wiſe

* Dominic De Vic, vice-admiral, &c. who has been mentioned before: he died this year at Paris, ſoon after his return from Calais, of which he was governor; it was aſſerted, that his death was occaſioned by the grief he was ſeized with, on ſeeing again the place to which he had ſeen the corpſe of Henry IV. brought after he was aſſaſſinated, Merc. Franç. an 1610. p. 529.

frugality

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frugality to which the glory of the laſt reign was owing. Jeannin, indeed, had a particular end to anſwer by theſe meaſures; his ſcheme being to get the entire diſpoſal of the finances, what better methods could be made uſe of to raiſe himſelf to this poſt, than to inſinuate, that in the new ſuperintendant they ſhould all find that facility and readineſs to oblige, which the grandees complained they had not met with in the old one? It may be ſaid, that he had not the abilities requiſite for this employment, which he at length obtained; but he knew how to enrich himſelf, his relations, and allies, by it, eſpecially Caſtille*, with whom money muſt certainly be of very little value, ſince all thoſe pieces of furniture which in other houſes are made of iron, or wood, in his were of ſilver: in this point of magnificence he was inferior to none but Conchini. 1610.

I was abſolutely convinced that I was offering remedies to voluntary ills, when I ſaw that my freedom of ſpeech which had at firſt been ſuffered as being an habitual fault, began to appear ſo troubleſome, that I eaſily read upon every countenance the pain it gave them to reſtrain themſelves; and that they would ſoon get rid of thoſe ſmall remains of reſpect. From that time I looked upon myſelf as a man who would very ſoon become ſomething worſe than uſeleſs, and ſeriouſly took up a reſolution to diſengage myſelf by degrees from a place where I could not ſupport my former reputation without infinite danger, or ſwim with the ſtream without total diſhonour: for, indeed, what influence could the voice of one ſingle man, who had nothing but harſh things to ſay, have over a queen who was uſed to the alluring language and ſervile complaiſance of flatterers and new favourites? It is a thing ſo rare for a miniſter to ſupport himſelf with his ſovereign, by ſuch ſentiments alone as ariſe from a ve-

* Peter de Caſtille was comptroller-general, and ſuperintendant of the finances.

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1610. neration mixed with awe (which however will always be the caſe if that miniſter be an honeſt man) that one ought not to expect ſuch a miracle will happen in two reigns ſucceſſively; therefore when my relations, my friends, and my domeſtics, whoſe affection for me made them ſee things in a very different light, united their endeavours to prevail upon me to continue my cares, which they aſſured me might ſtill be uſeful; or even when they repreſented to me that it was poſſible ſome good might be extracted from the new plan, my uſual anſwer was, that the blow which God had permitted, was ſo plain a declaration that he had delivered up France to her evil deſtiny, that to endeavour to hinder its effect, was to tempt his vengeance. One of my people, that very Arnaud whom I mentioned a little above, had the inſolence to ſay to me one day, when he ſaw me extremely dejected with this thought, that I was much to blame to afflict myſelf thus about what might happen; that for the future there might be very conſiderable ſums laid up in the exchequer, which the great expences of the deceaſed king in buildings, gaming, dogs, birds, and miſtreſſes rendered it impoſſible to do while he was living. This ſpeech appeared ſo criminal in his mouth, that, in the firſt emotions of my rage, I called him baſe, wicked, and ungrateful; threatened to ſtrike him, and forbad him ever to appear in my preſence again. It was but too true what I reproached him with in that moment, that his baſe compliances, and wicked counſels, were going to open the firſt way to diſſipation and diſorder.

The count of Soiſſons was not at Paris during theſe tranſactions. Some diſguſt which he had taken at the queen's coronation, on account of the robes which the king's natural * children were to

* It was on account of the ducheſs of Vencôme's robes. The king had a great deſire that ſhe, like the other princeſſes of the blood-royal, ſhould wear them ſprinkled with flower-de-luces, which the count of Soiſſons would never conſent to.

appear

appear in there, furniſhed him with a pretence for retiring to one of his houſes, ſo that he was not a witneſs of any thing that paſſed, either as to the king's death, or on the following days; and did not come to Paris till after the queen was declared regent, and all the other diſpoſitions made. This was a new ſubject for his complaints. He was greatly offended that they had proceeded to a buſineſs of ſuch importance as ſettling the regency, without giving him notice of it, and even without ſtaying till he could be preſent; for he affirmed, that this ceremony could not be performed without him: and taking it into his head, that, to make himſelf feared, it was only neceſſary that he ſhould bluſter and talk high, he found fault with many things in the form of this ceremony, boaſting that no perſon would have courage enough to ſay, in his preſence, that only a ſmall number of the preſidents and counſellors concurred in the nomination of the queen in the firſt meeting of the parliament; and added, that on the following day, when the king, the princes, the cardinals, the peers, and other officers of the crown were preſent, being afraid that, if the queſtion was put to the vote, they ſhould meet with oppoſition, they contented themſelves with a mere confirmation of the act of the foregoing day. He ſaw plainly that he would not be liſtened to, unleſs he could make his party very conſiderable, and, for this purpoſe, he conſtrained himſelf ſo far, as to ſeek the friendſhip of ſeveral courtiers, with whom he had not the leaſt connection. But there were two things which obſtructed his ſucceſs; his haughty and inſolent temper, and the preference the courtiers thought their intereſt required they ſhould give to others, who they found were likely to have the diſpoſal of all favours; and being as much diſliked by the princes, and his own brother, the prince of Conti, as by all the reſt, he ſaw himſelf obliged at length to yield. 1610.

I was

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1610. I was one of thoſe whom for ſome time the count of Soiſſons was deſirous of calling friend, but it was not long before he gave me every proof of his being a real enemy; and upon the following occaſion. The count had often preſſed the late king upon an affair of which I have already made ſome mention: it was to make an agreement with him for ſome claims, which he alledged he had in Piémont, in right of his wife, who was of the houſe of Montaffié: his importunity obliged Henry to remit the examination of this matter to me; and the profeſſion I have always made of ſincerity and attachment to the intereſts of my king, forced me to repreſent to him, that this ſtep would be attended with great inconvenience to him; that he was going to engage himſelf in proceſſes without number, and without end, againſt the Pope, the apoſtolical chamber, the duke of Savoy, and ſeveral cardinals, all of whom had pretenſions upon theſe eſtates, and many already in poſſeſſion of them; and that he would not be able to extricate himſelf in leſs than ten years out of that maze of different intereſts; and it being neceſſary, for the advancement of his great deſigns, that he ſhould be well with the Pope and the duke of Savoy, he muſt carefully avoid entering into any diſcuſſion which might make them his enemies. There needed no more to make Henry lay aſide all thought of it.

Upon the death of this prince, the count of Soiſſons reſumed this affair with the new council. In every thing which might be conſidered as a matter of mere favour, he did not ſcruple to form any intrigue which might procure him what he demanded. I am almoſt aſhamed to repeat the methods he made uſe of to attain his ends. The count, with the aſſiſtance of Conchini, counterfeited the ſignature, and made uſe of the ſeal of the deceaſed king; and thus gave an authentic form to a pretended contract of ſale between king Henry and him, for all the eſtates in queſtion. To make

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this writing leſs liable to a ſuſpicion of an antedate, they thought it neceſſary that my name ſhould appear there, which obliged them to requeſt my ſignature; and this was the greateſt difficulty they had to get over. They repreſented to me, that the moment was now come, which would abſolutely fix the count either as my friend or my enemy. They brought a thouſand other motives to prevail upon me: but I ſtill perſiſted, not only to refuſe my ſignature, but alſo to aſſert publicly, that this affair having been begun and ended by Henry and myſelf, no one could know better than I did that his intentions were abſolutely contrary to what they were now endeavouring to perſuade me of; and I told them plainly, that they preſented me a deed falſely ſigned and ſealed; ſo that, deſpairing to vanquiſh my obſtinacy, they drew up another contract like the former in every reſpect, except that my name was omitted. 1610.

The count of Soiſſons and I were upon theſe terms when he quarrelled * publicly with his brother, the prince of Conti, and, on his account, with the whole family of Guiſe. The queen ſent for me to acquaint me with the expedients ſhe had thought of to accommodate all their differences, which were to be tried when the council was met; and, till then, ſhe entreated me not to eſpouſe the

* This quarrel aroſe from the coaches of thoſe two princes having been drove againſt one another, and their coachmen having fought. The duke of Guiſe going the day after to the prince of Conti, by the queen's order, to endeavour to make up this difference, went by the count of Soiſſons' palace, with about twenty-five or thirty horſe. Nothing more was requiſite, to ſet the count at variance with him alſo; and this double quarrel raiſed ſo great an uproar in Paris, that the queen, being afraid of a general inſurrection, gave orders that all the inhabitants ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to put up the chains, and take arms all over the city, at the firſt order; and ſhe ſent a captain of the guards to keep near each of the two princes. We muſt look in Baſſompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 308, & ſeq. for all the particulars of theſe differences, ſince he himſelf contributed greatly to appeaſe them. See alſo L'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 123, and Le Merc. Franç. anno 1611, in which is contained what the duke of Sully ſaid to the queen in favour of the duke of Guiſe.

cauſe

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1610. cauſe of either party, that I might, with greater propriety, act the part of a mediator between both when the time for it came; to which I readily agreed. Accordingly, when we were ſeated in council where the affair was to be treated, and I had already given my opinion favourably for the count, this prince ſent Briſſac to tell the queen, in a whiſper, that he entreated her not to permit any of thoſe perſons, who were held in ſuſpicion by him, to deliberate upon this matter, and that he excepted againſt me * in particular, as being a kinſman and friend to the houſe of Guiſe. "He ought not to "except againſt M. de Sully, replied the queen "aloud; for there is no perſon in the council whoſe "judgment has been ſo favourable to him as his." I confeſs I was greatly ſhocked at this treatment, and I could not help ſaying as I roſe up, "Madam, "I except againſt myſelf, ſince he deſires it; and "I am going this moment to offer my ſervice to "his brother, and to M. de Guiſe."

The third quarrel I had with the count of Soiſſons happened, as the former, in the council, on occaſion of the government of Normandy, which he wanted to have conferred upon himſelf. The queen deſired to have my opinion, which I begged ſhe would diſpenſe with me from giving; but, not being able to prevail, I told her that it was impoſſible for me to adviſe her to take from the deceaſed king's children the offices and employments they were already poſſeſſed of, to beſtow upon any other perſon whatever. And at that time the count of Soiſſons and Conchini were not upon good terms with each other, and this prince had even oppoſed the favourite's getting the poſt of firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber for himſelf, and the archbiſhopric of

* The author of the life of the duke of Epernon informs us, that the count of Soiſſons carried his hatred to the duke of Sully ſo far as to ſolicit that duke to ſuffer him to get that miniſter aſſaſſinated even in the Louvre; and that he took it much amiſs, the duke of Epernon refuſed him the aſſiſtance of the guards, whom he commanded, to ſtrike this blow. Page 249.

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Tours for his wife's brother*; but they were reconciled upon this occaſion, becauſe they mutually aſſiſted each other; and by theſe means both obtained what they demanded. The ſame method was uſed by all who had any pretenſions to vacant poſts and employments, and in a very little time every thing was carried in the council by intrigue and cabal. "The time of kings is over, ſaid one "to another, and that of the princes and grandees "is come; and all they have now to do, is to ſet "a high value upon themſelves." 1610.

All the moſt conſiderable perſons of the court were ſummoned to an extraordinary council, which was held to deliberate upon the uſe that ſhould be made of thoſe great armaments, ſet on foot by the late king, a little before his death, for the enterpriſe of Cleves. The diverſity of opinions was infinite: ſome were for laying them totally aſide: others, and thoſe not the leaſt numerous, were for performing all the promiſes made by Henry the Great to the German princes concerned in the affair: the greateſt number were for mediums between theſe two opinions ſo oppoſite to each other: ſome adviſed that we ſhould keep only to the eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, expreſſed in the general contracts made by king Henry with his allies: others, that we ſhould content ourſelves with maintaining the two regiments of French cavalry already in their ſervice: a third party voted for embarking ſome foot ſoldiers at Calais; theſe, that we ſhould ſend them no ſupplies of men, but aſſiſt them with money; thoſe, that we ſhould keep our whole army

* Stephen Galigaï, brother of Leonora Galigaï. He was then Abbot of Marmoûtier. "He had "learned to read four years, ſays "L'Etoile, and yet knew nothing "of the matter; he was called the "baboon of the court, on account "of his uglineſs and mean aſpect. "The monks would not accept of "him as their abbot, ſaying they "had been uſed to be under the "command of princes, and not of "joiners, like him, who was juſt "come from handling the plane." "But it is certain, ſays Amelot, "that the family of Galigaï is "reckoned amongſt the noble fa-"milies of Florence." He went back to Italy after the death of the marſhal D'Ancre, and his wife.

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1610. upon the frontier without acting, except in a caſe of abſolute neceſſity: and others, that we ſhould diſband the greateſt part of our troops, and keep no more than was neceſſary for our own ſecurity. All this was intermixed with overtures of agreement and pacification, to be made between the contending powers, ſuch as juſt then occurred to them.

It appeared to me that they all expected, with ſome impatience, my opinion, becauſe I had been more engaged in the affair by the late king, than any other to whom he had communicated it. I began by making what I judged a very juſt diſtinction between thoſe troops already drawn together into the body of an army, and thoſe which were ſtill levying; between thoſe deſtined for the field, and thoſe which had been ſent into Dauphiné. With regard to the firſt therefore I concluded, that ſince, according to all appearances, and from the preſent ſituation of affairs, moſt part of the deſigns of Henry the Great would not be carried into execution, it was neceſſary to ſuſpend immediately all levies not begun, ſtop thoſe which were making, and pay and diſmiſs all that were made, and already upon their march; becauſe, ſince all this muſt be done ſooner or later, it would ſave the king ſo much money in the expences of ſending backwards and forwards, and the people ſo much trouble and oppreſſion. The death of him whom I had regarded as the great mover of this whole enterprize, ſeemed in my opinion to have made ſo great a change in it, that I believe I ſhould have given the ſame advice, even though I had found no ill intentioned perſon amongſt us; but neither could I conform to the opinions of thoſe who were for betraying our allies, with whom we were engaged by the moſt ſolemn promiſes; or deceiving them, by affecting to take ſteps to procure an accommodation between them, or by granting them feeble ſuccour, which would be of ſcarce any uſe to them.

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This was the anſwer I made to the greateſt part of thoſe ambiguous opinions, which were for and againſt a thing at the ſame time. I made them ſenſible that it highly concerned the glory of the late king, ſince his greateſt deſigns could not be accompliſhed, which might in ſome meaſure give room for ſuſpicions that he had never really formed them, they ſhould at leaſt have all their effect with regard to what he had declared, promiſed, and already begun: that it was for the intereſt of our own reputation with the foreign powers, that we ſhould not ſuffer them to believe the whole force of France was concentred in on eſingle man, and that he had ſo little reſpect for his memory. I concluded, therefore, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend deputies immediately to the German princes, and to the prince of Orange, to know of them whether they really ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of our forces to help them to reduce thoſe ſtates which we were deſirous of ſecuring to them; for I thought they might do without them, if that was not their ſole motive for taking up arms; and, if they had occaſion for them, to know how many they demanded, and that upon their anſwer thoſe ſupplies ſhould advance immediately under the conduct of good officers, taking their rout along the Maes, which was not indeed the moſt agreeable, nor the ſhorteſt way, but was the moſt ſecure, which was a matter of great importance; or elſe, that the whole army ſhould be diſbanded, except thirty thouſand foot, and ſix hundred troopers, who, ſtrengthened by four cannons only and two culverins, ſhould form a flying camp, ready to go wherever there was any appearances of an action: and this I thought ſufficient to keep every place in order: that, till then, it was neceſſary to put the troops of Champaign into garriſon, after giving them their full pay. 1610.

I gave much the ſame advice, with reſpect to the army of Dauphiné, as it had been already raiſed to ſupport the duke of Savoy, who, in compliance with

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1610. with our requeſt, had, or probably would embroil himſelf with all his neighbours: therefore it might be juſtly expected, that we ſhould either endeavour to reconcile him with the king of Spain, or put him into a condition to defend himſelf; and, as we could not take any reſolution upon this head till we had ſent another deputy to this prince, or perhaps till a long time afterwards, I adviſed that this army ſhould be likewiſe put into convenient winter quarters, (after making ſo exact a review of them, that no falſe muſter might be apprehended) till there was occaſion for them, or till they were diſbanded altogether.

I found that I was heard with attention; my reaſons ſeemed to have made a general impreſſion; but with this difference, that ſenſible and well diſpoſed perſons did not ſcruple to diſcover this effect, by ſhewing ſigns of approbation, and even by applauſes; whereas all the others not only carefully concealed it, either through vanity, neglect, or rather through jealouſy, but alſo combated my reaſons with eagerneſs and heat. I took care to inform Bethune, my couſin, of all this, who, in a letter he wróte to me, deſired my advice upon the alteration which the public loſs muſt neceſſarily make in his embaſſy to the German princes. I ſhall not tranſcribe his letter, nor my anſwer to it, becauſe they contained nothing eſſentially different from what has been juſt ſaid, except perhaps that I examined more particularly the good or bad effects of the advice I had given in the council: this, for example, is a thing that merits to be well obſerved, that which way ſoever it ſhall happen that a body of troops may find entrance into Germany to join the confederate princes, that entrance would be accompanied with great hazard, though the body conſiſted of ten thouſand men, unleſs the allies on their ſide facilitated their advance by meeting them within ten or twelve leagues of our frontiers. The ſcheme of embarking them at Calais, if that was choſen,

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choſen, would be likewiſe inconvenient; it would 1610.
ſupply our confederates with foot only; and that to no greater number than eight thouſand; and it was even neceſſary that we ſhould have a right underſtanding with each other. I forewarned Bethune with reſpect to a thing which required the attention of him and his correſpondents, which was, that France, by changing her maſter, had changed every thing elſe; and I ſhewed my aſtoniſhment, that the princes who employed him ſhould expreſs their ſchemes, deſires, and reſolutions, in ſo unintelligible a manner. I left it to his diſcretion to judge what uſe he ought to make of a letter, in which it was neceſſary I ſhould avoid explaining myſelf clearly upon ſeveral things: as for advice, I ſaid, I had no other to give him, but to continue, till he received new orders, to act as he had done hitherto, and I promiſed him faithfully to take care of his intereſts. This letter was dated May 24.

Some days afterwards I was ſummoned to a more particular council upon this affair. M. de Jacop, ambaſſador from the duke of Savoy, ſuſpecting that the reſolutions taken by the members of the new council were not very favourable to his maſter, had preſſed the queen regent to declare her intentions to him as ſoon as poſſible, that his highneſs might take ſuch meaſures thereupon as his intereſt required. We were to conſult, therefore, upon the declarations proper to be made to this ambaſſador. When I came to the Louvre, in the morning, I found only the conſtable, the chancellor, and Villeroi, with the queen; Gêvres and Loménie had been there, but Villeroi had perſuaded the queen to ſend them away, for which Gêvres made bitter complaints. I ſuſpected, by the ſtudied geſtures and the winding diſcourſe which one of theſe gentlemen began to make, that there was ſomething they wanted to conceal from me. "Madam," ſaid I to the queen, with my uſual frankneſs, "I know not for what

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1610. "end you have been pleaſed to ſummon me hither; "my preſence either hinders theſe gentlemen from "explaining themſelves, or elſe they are come only "to entrap one another. The buſineſs I perceive "relates to the duke of Savoy; it is well known "that I am not in great friendſhip with him: how- "ever, ſince his intereſts are at preſent connected "with thoſe of France, and that he is (at leaſt "in expectation) an ally of the royal family, I "have the ſame regard for him as I ought to have "for all true Frenchmen. I am of opinion, that "the king is indiſpenſably obliged to protect and "defend him; and that his majeſty's honour and "the glory of the kingdom, are both concerned not "to ſuffer that the leaſt injury ſhould be offered "to his perſon and dominions."

I perceived the queen to ſmile at this ſpeech, and whiſper Villeroi; then turning to me, ſhe ſaid, "M. de Sully, it is true we are met to conſult upon "the duke of Savoy's affairs; but there are others "of ſtill greater conſequence, which it is neceſſary "we ſhould attend to. You ſee what quarrels are "riſen among many of the grandees of the king- "dom, whoſe ambition and avarice, you ſay, are "inſatiable. I entreat you to think of ſome remedy "for this evil, that it may be propoſed in the firſt "council. With reſpect to M. de Savoy, theſe "gentlemen and I, before you came, had talked "of that buſineſs; and we are all of this opinion, "that a reconciliation between France and Spain is "moſt for our intereſt; and for this purpoſe we "are determined to ſend one of the princes of the "blood to Madrid, on occaſion of the death of "my lord the king, who ſhall be accompanied with "a perſon well inſtructed in our affairs, and upon "whoſe ſecrecy we may ſecurely rely. He ſhall "ſet on foot this reconciliation, and propoſe an al- "liance between the two crowns by a double mar- "riage, which I know the Spaniards ſtill wiſh for

"as

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" as ardently as they did formerly; and while this 1610.
" affair is negociating, in which I foreſee no great
" difficulty, or that it will be long protracted, we
" muſt flatter the duke of Savoy in his firſt hopes
" and expectations, till we can declare ourſelves
" without danger."

This reſolution gave me great uneaſineſs, which I diſcovered by my ſilence and ſhrugging up my ſhoulders. The queen took notice of it, and preſſed me to tell her my opinion. I repreſented to her, that we could not, without expoſing ourſelves to the reproach of having violated our faith, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himſelf againſt that crown *, at the perſuaſion of the deceaſed king; that, ſince we had altered our views, we ought to give him notice of it, and at the ſame time conceal this ſtep from the king of Spain, or rather make him believe we had acted very differently, till, by a general reconciliation, we had put thoſe out of danger who would not have been in it but through us. Theſe arguments, however juſt and reaſonable, made no impreſſion on the queen and her counſellors, nor did they even approve the medium my laſt words had hinted at, but coldly told me, that this way would engage them in a train of tedious negotiations. I replied with that confidence which a good cauſe inſpires, that I found the ſacrificing

* By the treaty of Bruſol, which had been concluded on the 25th of April. See it in Nevers's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 880. The duke of Savoy, being abandoned by the new council in France, could not eſcape the reſentments of the court of Spain, but by the moſt humiliating ſtep a crowned head can poſſibly be reduced to. His ſon came to throw himſelf at the king of Spain's feet, beſeeching him to take the duke his father, and all his houſe, under his royal protection. He told the king, that he embraced his knees, that he had recourſe to his clemency, and that, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion, he aſked his pardon for the faults he had been guilty of againſt him, &c. Siri moſt certainly miſtakes his aim, if he pretends to make us admire the politics of the new council, by giving us ſuch inſtances as this of their proceedings. One muſt be as much prejudiced as this writer againſt Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, and as violent a partiſan of the Spaniards, to approve of a manner of acting ſo oppoſite to that juſtice and generoſity France has always profeſſed to ſhew.

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1610. the duke of Savoy was a point determined on, and appeared to me to have been ſo before this conſultation. I drew preſages, no leſs certain to the diſadvantage of our allies, from all the looks and ſigns of intelligence, which I ſurpriſed between the queen, the chancellor, and Villeroi: but the new counſellors, and the confidants of that princeſs, ſoon threw off all reſtraint, and declared their ſentiments freely; the deceaſed king's government, ſo wiſe, ſo gentle, and ſo glorious for France, was condemned almoſt publicly, and even deſpiſed and ridiculed; at one time, they treated his deſigns as mere chimera's; at another, they repreſented him as a weak puſilanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble reſolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpuniſhed; they added to that neglect all ſorts of outrages againſt his memory, and, unhappily for us, heaven, which reſerved to itſelf this vengeance, ſuffered envy and ingratitude to triumph in their ſucceſs.

I returned home full of grief at what I ſaw and heard. "We are going," ſaid I to madame de Sully, whoſe prudence I well knew, "to fall under "the domination of Spain and the jeſuits: all true "Frenchmen, and proteſtants eſpecially, muſt look "well to their ſafety; for they will not continue "long in tranquillity." This reflection kept me in a profound reverie all dinner time. The biſhop of Montpelier came to viſit me in the afternoon: he entreated me to give him an opportunity of conferring with me in my cloſet, from whence, in about half an hour, I let him out by a private door; for he did not deſire to be known, and therefore hid his face with his handkerchief that none of my people might ſee it. "I have heard ſome news juſt now," ſaid I to my wife, and three or four perſons in whom I confided; "a ſecret council has been held at the "houſe of the nuncio Ubaldini, at which were pre-"ſent the chancellor, Conchini, Villeroi, the biſhop "of Beziers, and another perſon whoſe name was

"not

" not known, but he was thought to be the duke of Epernon: they condemned, they even ſpoke with ſcorn and contempt of the deceaſed king's deſigns; nor was I treated any better by them. It was reſolved there to change entirely all the maxims of our government, and all our political alliances; to write to the Pope, and promiſe to be guided wholly by his advice; to enter into a ſtrict union with Spain, and as ſoon as it was ſolidly eſtabliſhed, all thoſe who ſhewed any diſlike to it, eſpecially the huguenots, ſhould be removed from the adminiſtration of affairs, and baniſhed the court. If I am wiſe, continued I, I ſhall quietly reſign all my poſts and employments, withdraw all my money, or as much of it as I can; with part of it purchaſe ſome ſtrong caſtle in one of the moſt diſtant provinces, and keep the remainder for any exigencies that may happen." 1610.

We were ſtill converſing upon this ſubject when the duke of Rohan, the two Bethunes, my brother, and my couſin, my ſon, and two or three more of my moſt intimate friends came in, to whom I imparted what I had heard, and the reſolution I had taken upon it. They maintained that the information could not be true; that I was going to take a ſtep which would draw upon me the reproach of ingratitude to the ſtate, and to the children of the king, my benefactor; that I might very eaſily continue in the poſſeſſion of all my employments, and the exerciſe of all my offices; and that it would appear weak and mean to yield thus to my enemies at the firſt encounter. I could not be convinced by their arguments, nor could I bring them to admit of mine. " It is your deſire then, ſaid I at laſt, " that I ſhould ſacrifice myſelf for the public, my " family, and my friends; for I ſee plainly that " your intereſt has great part in what you ſay to " me. I will do ſo, ſince you force me to it; but " remember what I now tell you: this conceſſion

1610. "will procure you no advantage, and will bring "great trouble, loſs, and even diſgrace upon me; "and I am going, added I, to give you a ſpecimen "of it this moment."

Having obſerved that the courtiers of the higheſt rank, and thoſe among them moſt remarkable for their pride and inſolence, had not diſdained to make advances, and meanly court the friendſhip of him who appeared to engroſs the queen's favour, I concluded with myſelf that it would be very difficult to preſerve the ſame connection, and the ſame good intelligence (in appearance at leaſt) with the court, as I had formerly, unleſs I expreſſed ſome kind of regard for the new favourite. I had reſolved, in caſe this thought ſhould hold, to make uſe of Arnaud the younger for this purpoſe, who of himſelf was but too much diſpoſed to worſhip the riſing ſun. I had ſent for him in the morning, and acquainted him with the commiſſion I intended to give him ere long, to wait upon monſieur Conchini *, and

* Concino Conchini, an Italian of mean birth, according to ſome; but a Florentine gentleman, according to others; better known under the title of marſhal D'Ancre, which he bore afterwards. He was the chief favourite of the queen regent, and loaded by her with riches and dignities. It is ſaid that, at his departure from Florence, one of his friends aſking him what he was going to do in France, his anſwer was, *either to make his fortune or periſh*; and that he did both the one and the other. He was killed in the Louvre by Vitry, on the 24th of Auguſt 1617, by order of king Lewis XIII. and at the ſolicitation of the nobility. The hatred which was conceived againſt him, has cauſed him to be painted in the blackeſt colours. Very few have done juſtice to the good qualities he poſſeſſed: but perhaps divine juſtice deſigned to revenge the horrible aſſaſſination of Henry the Great on the perſon of this Italian, one of theſe whom it is the moſt difficult to acquit of it, ſuppoſing this murder was committed by a foreign inſtigation. His wife, the ſame Leonora Galigaï, ſo often mentioned in theſe Memoirs, was alſo put to death. They could find no other crimes to charge her with, but her having bewitched the queen her miſtreſs. "I have never, anſwered "ſhe to her judges, made uſe of "any witchcraft but my wit; is it "at all to be wondered at that I "governed the queen who had "none? Cardinal Richelieu, adds "Amelot, owed the firſt ſteps to-"wards his fortune to this wo-"man." They both were poſſeſſed of the magic of eloquence. We muſt ſearch in the hiſtories of Mary of Medicis, and of Lewis XIII. for whatever relates to this matter. There are alſo ſome anecdotes relating to it, which are curious enough, in Baſſompierre's Memoirs.

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to make him offers of ſervice in my name. I had already told him in what manner to turn his compliment, which I ſhall here give the reader: He was to tell Conchini that I bore him no ill will for the height fortune was going to raiſe him to, by giving him the ſame place with the queen as I had held with the late king; that I looked upon this event as one of thoſe, which happen too often in the order of providence, to occaſion much ſurpriſe; that the queen regent, by this advancement of him, juſtly repaid the attachment which his wife and himſelf had always ſhewn for her, and the good ſervices ſhe had received from them; that, by chuſing him to preſide over the adminiſtration of affairs, her majeſty doubtleſs expected to give to the king her ſon, and to the whole ſtate, an able and a faithful miniſter, two great qualities which are alone ſufficient to render a man, whoever he was, truly worthy of all the benefits her favour could ſecure to him; that, being equally perſuaded of the queen's laudable deſigns, and of his diſpoſition to ſecond them, I freely and cordially offered to him all thoſe meaſures which a long experience had furniſhed me with; an offer which he would find worthy of acceptance, if he reflected, that beſides the public good, which would neceſſarily reſult from it, he would reap ſome advantage to himſelf, in not purchaſing the favours which in the ſequel would be ſhowered on him, with the jealouſy of the nobles, the public hatred, the prejudice of affairs, and the oppreſſion of the people; that the only return I demanded of him for thus entering into his views of grandeur and intereſt, was to endeavour to gratify them by following thoſe maxims of government by which the late king had rendered his people happy, and his kingdom flouriſhing. Of theſe maxims, one, which the preſent ſtate of affairs ſeemed to make moſt neceſſary, was, not to accuſtom the men of buſineſs and thoſe importunate petitioners that haunt the court, to depend upon obtaining all they 1610.

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1610. ſhould demand: that, upon theſe conditions, he ſhould find me ſincerely diſpoſed to unite myſelf with him; and that from this moment I offered him my friendſhip, and requeſted his.

If the nature of my compliment be well conſidered, it will be granted that there were exceptions in theſe advances which took away all fear of having engaged myſelf too far: but, however, I believe it will be allowed that they ought to ſatisfy, and, if I may ſay ſo, flatter the vanity of him to whom they were made. Be that as it will, this meſſage appeared to me very proper to produce that effect, of which I was endeavouring to perſuade thoſe, who ſo obſtinately combated my reſolution. After having called Arnaud, and given him his inſtructions in the preſence of theſe gentlemen, "Go, "ſaid I to him, to monſieur Conchini, and deliver "the meſſage to him which I gave you in the morn- "ing, and return as ſoon as poſſible. I am much "deceived, added I, if all theſe gentlemen," addreſſing myſelf to them, "who have ſo good an "opinion of the queen, and her private counſel- "lors, will not find, by Conchini's anſwer, that "there is nothing for me to expect."

The company all ſtaid with me, waiting for an anſwer to my meſſage, which Arnaud brought us at the expiration of an hour, and in a manner which confirmed me in thoſe ſuſpicions I had before conceived againſt him. He began with praiſing Conchini for his great abilities, and his knowledge in matters of ſtate, dwelt upon his intereſt and powerful friends, and, ſlightly paſſing over what it moſt concerned me to know, he only told me, that he believed I had nothing to hope for from him, unleſs I was diſpoſed to comply with him in all things. "I fancy I underſtand you," ſaid I, with a * little rage I was not able to ſuppreſs; "but tell me

* M. de Sully had a cuſtom of ſcratching his head, if any one vexed or embarraſſed him.

"plainly

" plainly what you would be at, and let me know 1610.
" what you and he ſaid to one another." Then, as if forced to it, he gave us the following detail, ſhaking his head, and ſmiling malignantly as he ſpoke: That, as he entered Conchini's houſe, he met the preſident Jeannin and his brother Arnaud, who were juſt coming out; that they ſeemed concerned at ſeeing him there, but that they did not ſpeak to him, nor he to them, which however I believe was not true; that a gentleman, whoſe name was Vincenne, introducing him into Conchini's apartment, ſaid to him, " You belong, I think, to " M. de Sully; would to God that we were to fol- " low his councils, rather than thoſe of the two " perſons who went from hence juſt now, and of " ſeveral others ſtill worſe than they are! we ſhould " not hurry things on at ſuch a rate as they urge " us to do; but the queen's authority and our for- " tune would be eſtabliſhed in a more laudable " manner, and be far more certain and durable." That, entering Conchini's apartment, he ſaid to him, " What! monſieur Arnaud, are you come to " viſit me?" That hereupon he made him the compliment, and delivered the meſſage I had ſent by him, which he now repeated to us.

Arnaud then ſtopped again, and, after ſome heſitation, ſaid, that the anſwer he had received was ſo very ſhort and dry, that he believed it was the beſt way not to repeat it. What ſtill remained for him to tell was preciſely that which I moſt wanted to know. After ſuffering himſelf to be urged a long time, he at length told us, that Conchini, without expreſſing any acknowledgement for the civil offers he had made him in my name, and even without ſeeming to give the leaſt attention to what he had ſaid, replied in very bad French, and in a proud and diſdainful accent. " How! M. Arnaud, the " duke of Sully then expects to govern the affairs " of France as he did in the late king's time: he is " much miſtaken; the queen being queen, it is for

" her

1610. "her to diſpoſe of all things as ſhe pleaſes, and "I would adviſe him to be wholly guided by "her will; as for my wife and I, we have no "occaſion for the aſſiſtance or favour of any one; "her majeſty eſteems us, becauſe we have ſerved "her faithfully: it is not in the power of any "perſon whatever to deprive us of her favour, or "to hinder the effects of it. If M. de Sully has "any requeſts to make, he will have more occaſion "for our aſſiſtance than we of his, which he has "ſent you to offer us; and poſſibly, if he knew "how much we are courted, he would be more "reſpectful than he has hitherto been: there "is not any prince or nobleman of the court who "has neglected to viſit us, except him and one "more."

The company, who had not expected an anſwer ſo rude and inſolent, ſtared upon one another, and ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, but did not utter a word. "Well, gentlemen, ſaid I to them, do you "ſtill think it poſſible for me to keep my employ-"ments with honour, and that they will ſuffer me "to continue at the head of affairs as formerly?" They acknowledged that they had formed a wrong judgment of the true ſtate of things. This led us into many other converſations, which were very long, but of too little conſequence to be related here. In the end, however, it was concluded, that we ſhould allow ſomething to chance, precipitate nothing, and expect what the arrival of M. the prince of Condé would produce, upon whom many others, as well as myſelf, had founded great hopes.

It was from Pallot that I received the firſt information of this prince's having entered the kingdom; and he told me, at the ſame time, that, being not well furniſhed with ready money, I might make my court to him very ſucceſsfully, by paying him, without waiting till he demanded it, one half year of his penſion. Fortunately it was in my power to do him this favour without incurring the reproach of having

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having diſpoſed of the king's money at my own pleaſure, and without ſtaying for an order; for this ſum had been carried to account, though it was not yet delivered to the prince; becauſe the late king, being unwilling to let him know that he had ſtill indulgence enough for him to continue his penſion, waited till ſome opportunity ſhould offer when I might ſend it him as if from myſelf. I had already paid half the ſum to two perſons whom the prince had commiſſioned to demand it, and, remembering that they had told me about eight days ago that the money was ſtill in their hands, I ordered the whole ſum to be delivered to Pallot, who when he paid it to the prince, took care to give him a juſt notion of this inſtance of my attachment to him. In reality, at that time, it was one of the greateſt ſervices I could have done him, and he was ſo much obliged by it, that he declared publicly, as I was informed by a ſon of M. D'Harcourt's *, that he would not enter Paris till he had ſeen me and aſked my advice, which he was reſolved to follow. As I then ſaw myſelf ſurrounded with none but enemies, I was truly rejoiced at having thus extinguiſhed that reſentment which the firſt prince of the blood had ſo long borne me. He did me the honour to depute to me, at different times, Meſſieurs de Rieux, de Montataire, de Clermont, and other gentlemen, to acquaint me with his ſituation, and his deſigns. 1610.

The prince of Condé, upon the news of the king's death, had inſtantly ſet out for France, and hoped, by making extraordinary haſte, to arrive time enough to take advantage of the rights due to his rank upon this occaſion, which was exactly like that on which the king of Navarre, his great uncle, had endeavoured to gain the preference before Catherine de Medicis; but being ſoon informed that the queen, without ſtaying for him, or for any of the other princes of the blood, without firſt ſettling a council

* Peter de Harcourt, marquis of Beuvron.

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1610. of regency as the laws directed, or obſerving any of the uſual forms on ſuch occaſions, had been rather declared than choſen regent, he found that he could no longer indulge a hope of obtaining the regency, and even began to entertain ſome doubts about the treatment they were preparing for him at court, where, after this, his preſence could not fail of being unwelcome: but, as he imagined that nothing was more likely to give weight to his demands, than the reſpect and diſtinction which the nobles ſhould be obſerved to pay him upon this occaſion, he cauſed them to be ſounded, and gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould think himſelf obliged to all thoſe who ſhould come to meet him, and eſcort him into Paris.

This propoſal was made to me as well as the reſt; but I thought the place I filled required that, before I complied with it, I ſhould obtain the queen's permiſſion, as ſhe now repreſented the perſon of the king. She did not expreſsly forbid me to go and meet the prince, but, by the manner in which ſhe received my requeſt, ſhe inſinuated that I ſhould do her a pleaſure if I abſtained from ſhewing him that inſtance of reſpect. I alſo found, by the few words ſhe ſaid, that ſhe gave me, as well as others, liberty to chuſe between her and the princes of the blood; for it was apparent that ſhe did not expect to be upon good terms with them. It was probable, likewiſe, that the coldneſs and reſerve which appeared in her countenance, proceeded from ſome reſentment ſhe entertained againſt me for having paid the prince the money I have mentioned; for her confidants had diſcovered the affair, and did not fail to inform her of it; and ſhe, without doubt, had forgot that that ſum made an article of expence which had been inſerted in the accounts: it is likely alſo, that the council which was held, and which I forgot to mention till now, was one conſequence of this reſentment. It was there determined, that, till a new order, I ſhould be continued

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to have the direction of the finances, particularly of what related to the penſions of ſtate. I was apprehenſive that the queen wanted only ſuch an incident as this, to withdraw her favour from me entirely; and I was reſolved not to expoſe myſelf to her hatred, for a thing which did not appear to me to be of much importance. As to the prince, he diſpatched couriers upon couriers to prevail with me to alter my reſolution; and at length he ordered the gentlemen before mentioned to aſſure me, that he was abſolutely determined not to come to Paris at all, ſince I refuſed to accompany him in his entry, and to confer with him upon thoſe affairs which would decide the part he was to take, and which he could only know from me. 1610.

Thus importuned, I went again to the queen, to ſolicit her conſent that I ſhould meet the prince; but I could obtain no other permiſſion, than ſuch a one as plainly indicated her diſpleaſure at my aſking it. The choice I was to make was ſo much the more perplexing, as it lay between two parties which from thenceforward muſt be looked on as totally oppoſite to each other: however, I declared myſelf openly for that which would conſider my compliance as an eſſential ſervice, rather than the other, by whom it would be only acknowledged as an inſtance of complaiſance which would be ſoon forgot. And I went to meet the prince*, who, notwithſtanding all that the duke of Epernon could ſay to him, would not ſet out from the place where he had dined, till he knew that I was not far off. I met him in the open road, and alighted to pay my reſpects to him; but he was off his horſe almoſt as ſoon as I, and came to embrace me with equal marks of joy and deference. He began a conference with me as we ſtood, which laſted a quarter

* "The prince, ſays Matthieu, "was at his houſe at Château-"roux; he had ſeen the duke of "Sully, who had adviſed him to "return to court, as his preſence "alone would be of more advan-"tage to the king's ſervice," &c. Ibid. 28.

1610. of an hour, though d'Epernon repreſented to him that it would be late before he got to Paris: he addreſſed himſelf by the way often to me upon different ſubjects. I attended him to the gates of the Louvre, where I left him to pay his compliments* to the queen, and returned myſelf to the Arſenal.

It was very poſſible, that at the time when the prince of Condé ſeemed apprehenſive of meeting with ſome ill uſage from the queen, he ſecretly flattered himſelf with having a very different reception, when he reflected upon the good intelligence they were in formerly: and perhaps he had, upon theſe expectations, formed a plan of conduct quite contrary to that he laid down to me, and aſſured me he would follow. It was the general opinion when he left France, that his diſcontent and his flight were the effects of that princeſs's advice and perſuaſions, and the late king was told ſo: however that may be, the prince, if he built any thing upon the former friendſhip between him and the queen, was ſoon undeceived, and knew by experience, that it was of no force againſt the jealouſy of abſolute power. The queen ſeemed to have forgot the time when they gave the name of their common intereſt to the motives by which they were actuated; but it was not her entering into a recital of the affairs of ſtate, and the government, which baniſhed paſt ſcenes from her remembrance, for ſhe communicated

* "The prince came to Paris "the 15th of July, accompanied "by fifteen hundred gentlemen, "which greatly alarmed the queen, "who was afraid, as the artillery, "the Baſtile, and the late king's "treaſures, were in his power, by "means of the duke of Sully; in "caſe the parliament and people "ſhould not prove faithful, he "might attempt things of very "dangerous conſequence to the "king's ſervice. The prince had "no leſs miſtruſt of others than "what they had of him. On his "arrival, he had notice given him "three or four times, that the "queen, at the inſtigation of the "count of Soiſſons, had formed "a deſign to ſecure him and "the duke of Bouillon; which "was the reaſon, that notwithſtanding the kind reception he "met with from both their majeſties, he was up three nights, "ready to quit Paris on the firſt "notice he ſhould receive of any "attempts being formed againſt "him." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 101.

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nothing to him upon thoſe heads, and confined herſelf to a ceremonial ſo grave, ſo cold, and reſerved, that the prince came away from the Louvre, greatly diſguſted with his reception. 1610.

All this I diſcovered by the diſcourſe we had together when he came to viſit me two days afterwards, though he did not at firſt explain himſelf freely, and named no one. I waited for an explanation of his ſentiments, before I would declare mine; and till then I was ſtill more reſerved than he was; but at length he began to talk to me of his deſigns in terms ſo clear, expreſſed all at once ſo much eſteem for me, and ſuch unlimited confidence in my ſincerity, ſhewed ſo ardent a deſire to labour, in concert with me, to find proper meaſures to hinder that confuſion and diſorder with which the affairs of the ſtate and the finances were threatened, demanded ſo ſincerely my advice concerning the conduct he ſhould purſue for the public good, in the midſt of thoſe obſtacles which jealouſy, hatred, and faction, were going to oppoſe to his deſigns, that I thought I owed ſo much to his generous confidence, and to the laudable motive by which he was inſpired, as to open my heart to him freely upon all that he had ſaid: to this I was more fully determined by his telling me candidly, that among all thoſe to whom he communicated his earneſt wiſhes, that the political and domeſtic affairs of the ſtate might ſtill continue to be governed by the ſame maxims which the late king had purſued, there was not one who did not endeavour to make him alter his opinion, and give him a diſguſt to the former adminiſtration. I was afraid that the view of difficulties either abſolutely unſurmountable, or which could not be overcome without infinite hazard, would throw him into the path they ſought to lead him to.

After I had thanked him for the honour of his eſteem and confidence, I made him the following anſwer, and almoſt in theſe words: That thoſe perſons

1610. perſons whom he had conſulted upon the preſent queſtion, were all too much intereſted in it to give him ſuch advice as might ruin their hopes and expectations; that I could offer him no other than ſuch as I would give to his uncles, the prince of Conti and count of Soiſſons; and to the queen herſelf, were they to conſult me with any intentions to be influenced by my reaſons, becauſe the real intereſt of all four, if well examined, would be found to be the ſame; and this advice was, to unite together to ſupport the honour and grandeur of the king againſt the nobles, and againſt that croud of importunate, ambitious, and ſelf-intereſted men, with which the court was filled; ſince the deſigns of all thoſe perſons were, by methods the leaſt allowable, to take advantage of a conjuncture which has at all times been the triumph of avarice and licentiouſneſs: That this was the point from which they were to ſet out; and that they might not go aſide, or give an example to others which they themſelves condemned, it was neceſſary that the whole kingdom ſhould be informed, by a ſolemn declaration, that their ſole view in this union was the glory of the ſtate; and by the effects it produced, the people ſhould be convinced that they were treading in the ſteps of a king, all whoſe deſigns and undertakings had been juſtified by that ſucceſs they hoped to be favoured with: That it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to proteſt frequently, and in the moſt public manner, that they were actuated by the ſame ſpirit by which that great prince had found the ſecret of making a kingdom, plunged in miſery and deſpair, opulent and flouriſhing; and that the moſt effectual proof they could give of their exact imitation of him, was to have no ſelfiſh views, by refuſing all the unjuſt demands of a whole people of greedy courtiers: I did not mean by this, that they were not to expect or deſire any reward for themſelves; on the contrary, it was one of the advantages which theſe four perſons would derive from this ſyſtem, that

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that by directing all affairs with wiſdom and prudence, they would in one year accumulate more riches juſtly and with honour, than they could in ten by any other method; but that, however, they muſt not ſuffer themſelves to be tainted by avarice; and this caution I repeated the oftener, becauſe, that of all the virtues neceſſary to ſtateſmen, there is not one ſo difficult to practiſe as moderation, in the midſt of vaſt treaſures and unlimited favour. I added, that I knew already all the plans formed by each of the princes to enjoy what they called the rights of their birth; but alſo, that by preſerving themſelves from that dangerous ſnare, no power would be able to reſiſt them: were all the nobles and all the heads of the different factions to be leagued againſt them, the intereſt of the king, when ſupported by ſuch methods, would become the public and the general intereſt, and the impreſſion made by the royal name would be then carried to its higheſt pitch. 1610.

I then told the prince, that all which now remained was to know, whether the queen and the two other princes of the blood, were diſpoſed to take ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for the ſucceſs of this ſcheme; but that I was ſo far from flattering him with this hope, that I freely declared to him, he ought not to reckon upon their concurrence: yet that this ſhould not make him diſpenſe with himſelf from uſing his utmoſt endeavours to bring the queen over, as well becauſe it was neceſſary that, in a point of this conſequence, he ſhould have no cauſe to reproach himſelf with any neglect, as becauſe this princeſs, being already in poſſeſſion of the royal authority, he would have occaſion for the ſtrongeſt reaſons he could urge, to juſtify to the public the extremities he would be obliged to proceed to. That, after this precaution, no conſideration whatever ſhould hinder him from taking upon himſelf the diſcharge of a duty which the princes his uncles were not willing to ſhare with him; but that, when

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1610. thus deprived of all other ſupport, he muſt make his actions ſpeak for him: theſe muſt ſhew a diſintereſtedneſs ſo determined, a candor and probity ſo diſtinguiſhed, as may accuſtom the people to look upon him as the true friend of the king, themſelves, and the ſtate: that a man who employed only ſuch arms as theſe, in a rank ſo elevated, would ſooner or later carry all before him: that the princes of Conti and Soiſſons would be among the firſt who were ſenſible of it, by comparing the honour which a procedure ſo great and diſintereſted would reflect upon the royal blood, with the diſreſpect, the contempt, and often the affronts they would be expoſed to, when the public ſaw them confounded with the reſt of the ſelfiſh courtiers. That the queen herſelf would find many arguments to balance her inclination to a contrary conduct, eſpecially if ſhe ſaw the princes of the blood reunited againſt her. That, in a word, I believed I might venture to engage for it, that neceſſity, confidence, and the force of the torrent, would at length bring all over to his ſide; and that there would be no longer any connexions, quarrels, reconciliations, and cabals, between the queen, the princes, and the people in place, which would not turn to the advantage of his authority, if, from this moment, he would begin to form the plan I had ſketched out to him, and follow it faithfully.

The extreme attention with which the prince liſtened to me, convinced me that I had found the way to his heart, and that I had made upon it that ſtrong impreſſion which is the effect of virtue and juſtice united in the ſame object. What has ſince happened does not prove that I was then deceived; or if it does, it proves alſo that the prince deceived himſelf firſt; ſince it is certain, that the force of my arguments ſupported him a long time againſt the aſſaults he had on all ſides. Whatever arts were made uſe of by thoſe perſons that continually beſet him, the ſlighteſt attention to the nature of thoſe counſels

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counſels they gave him, muſt have ſhewn him very plainly, that they were dictated by avarice and ambition. How different were ſuch ſentiments from thoſe I endeavoured to inſpire him with? He felt it, he was convinced of it, and yet he ſuffered himſelf, like all the reſt, to be carried along with the torrent. The duke of Bouillon contributed more than any other to engage him in the party of error*. I myſelf repreſent, and probably exaggerate, every thing that can ſerve to juſtify this prince, by candidly acknowledging that it was not difficult to paint, in the fineſt colours; thoſe motives by which they endeavoured to undermine my principles; and that it ought not to appear ſurpriſing, that a prince, young and unexperienced, ſhould not have diſcern- 1610.

* The author of the life of the duke of Bouillon, giving an account of the counſels that duke gave the prince of Condé, ſays, "He adviſed him to leave the queen "the quality of regent, but to re- "duce it to a mere title, which "might ſatisfy her vanity; but to "get all the actual authority into "his own hands. He told him, he "knew an infallible way of bring- "ing this to paſs, which, if he "would purſue, he would be an- "ſwerable for the ſucceſs: that "this method conſiſted in his "again making profeſſion of the "calviniſt religion, from which "the late king had drawn him, "and to declare himſelf the pro- "tector of the proteſtants in "France: that being, in conſe- "quence of this ſtep, followed by "the calviniſt nobility, of whom "he would be head, maſter of all "the ſtrong places in the poſſeſ- "ſion of that party (that is, of "an hundred and three towns "and places, well fortified) ſup- "ported by all the Swiſs in France "of whom the duke of Rohan "was colonel-general; ſecure of "all the treaſures left by the late "king in the Baſtile, which the "duke of Sully, diſcontented with "the regent, could put into his "hands: it could not, with all "theſe great advantages, be any "way doubted, but a firſt prince "of the blood, as he was, during "a minority, muſt be in a condi- "tion to ſeize on all the authority, "and make himſelf equally for- "midable within the kingdom as "without.—God did not permit "him to follow this advice of the "duke of Bouillon; if he had, the "calviniſts would have recovered "all the advantages they had loſt "by the late king's converſion: "in all probability, the kingdom "would have been divided be- "tween them and the catholics; "and their republic, which was "treated as imaginary, would at "laſt have proved ſomething "real." Vol. II. p. 307. But many continued perſuaded, as this hiſtorian himſelf afterwards owns, that the duke of Bouillon did not ſeriouſly make this propoſition to the prince; that he was the firſt to divert him from it; and that all his intent was, only to let the regent ſee, that he himſelf would be a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all the miſchief he was able to do her.

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1610. ment enough to diſtinguiſh appearances from realities; nor firmneſs enough to prefer what is uſeful to what flatters and pleaſes. It was by the following arguments that they effaced all the impreſſion which mine had made in his mind.

They told him, that the reaſons I had urged to him tended only to engage him in an abſurd imaginary ſyſtem; that ſuch refined maxims neither ſuited our times nor our manners; that probity and virtue alone ſignified nothing; that the chimera's with which I filled his imagination would be laughed at by all reaſonable perſons; that by thus aſpiring to be the ſupport of the whole nation, he would only incur a general hatred, and too late regret that he had not made a better uſe of ſo happy a conjuncture: that the only wiſe part for him to take, at a time when the royal treaſures were going to become a public prey, was to claim the beſt and the largeſt portion of them for himſelf, as being, after their majeſties, the firſt perſon in the kingdom *; that he had profited but little by the neceſſitous condition to which he had been reduced, if it had not taught him, that when an opportunity offered to extricate himſelf from it, it ought to be received with open arms: that he might be aſſured it was not ſo much for his intereſt as my own, that I endeavoured to throw him into a deſperate party; that this was the only reſource I had left to ſupport my expiring credit: that by ſeeking to connect his intereſts with mine, I ſhould drag him down the precipice with me: that the hatred of the nobles and the miniſters againſt me was ſo great and invincible, that the bare ſuſpicion of my having any in-

* "He would gladly," ſays the ſame hiſtorian I have juſt been quoting, "have conteſted the regency if he had dared; but he "was diverted from it by the kind "treatment he met with. He had "a penſion of two hundred thouſand livres given him, together "with the palace of Conti, in the "ſuburb of Saint-Germain, which "had been bought for two hundred thouſand francs, the county of Clermont, and many other "gratifications."

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fluence over him, was ſufficient to ruin all his expectations and deſigns: that I had diſdained to offer my friendſhip and ſervices to any one; and, in revenge, all were ſo well agreed upon that one point, my ruin, that there was no condition which they would not accept from thoſe who were going to have the diſpoſal of all favours and rewards, provided my diſgrace was annexed to it. 1610.

On occaſions like theſe, when one has been able to render the advice ſuſpected, the adviſer is not far from being hated: this was what they undertook to accompliſh, and they ſucceeded. They gave the prince to underſtand, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſyſtem he was going to embrace, that my ruin ſhould be reſolved on: what I had ſaid to him myſelf confirmed it to him; all my own words were turned againſt me; ſo that by a ſtrange caprice of the mind (of which, however, politics have furniſhed more than one example) thoſe very ſentiments which but a moment before the prince had admired in my mouth, laid the foundation of that hatred he from thenceforward began to bear me, and of the perſecution he raiſed againſt me. Then it was that the reſolution was taken, not to ſuffer me to continue any longer in the miniſtry* than was neceſſary for their own ſchemes; and in the mean time to undermine, by degrees, what power I had ſtill left, and to withdraw, without any ſeeming deſign, all the papers, memoirs, and inſtructions, relating to the finances, which were in my hands, till the moment arrived when I was to be diſmiſſed for ever. If the execution of this plot was deferred till the following year, it was only becauſe ſome unforeſeen difficulties retarded it.

* All theſe intringues amongſt the princes, the courtiers, and the miniſters, to get the duke of Sully removed, are related in particular memoirs, and eſpecially in L'Hiſtoire de la Mere et du Fils, vol. I. p. 11, & ſeq. 120, 127, & ſeq. In the Hiſtory of the duke of Bouillon, vol. II. p. 113 ſeq.

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1610. Probably I did not at that time know all the plots which were then ſecretly forming againſt me; but I gueſſed at ſo many of them, that I reſumed, with more earneſtneſs than formerly, the reſolution that I had endeavoured to make my family agree to, which was, to retire from court before I ſhould appear to be forced from it: I even went ſo far as to mention my deſign to the queen regent, and intreated her not to oppoſe it. Although, by this propoſal, I was doubtleſs anſwering all her views, yet ſhe uſed ſuch profound diſſimulation in the anſwer ſhe made me, that although I had ſuffered myſelf to be deceived, yet I think I could not have been accuſed of too great credulity. Conchini and his wife had never more influence over her than then: ſhe began to be wholly governed by them; yet ſhe pretended to be as much diſguſted with their proceedings as I was myſelf: ſhe endeavoured to perſuade me that ſhe was fully ſatisfied with my conduct; that ſhe ſhould be greatly perplexed if I abandoned her, at a time when the king's coronation would give her ſufficient employment; and that it would take up all the remainder of the year, to prepare for the changes which my diſmiſſion from my employments muſt neceſſarily make in affairs. I accommodated myſelf to her will, without ſuffering my own to be altered; for though I continued to perform all the duties of my offices, yet I was ſo conſtantly upon my guard againſt the machinations of my enemies, that I would not leave them an opportunity of ſpoiling me themſelves.

They at length came to a reſolution with regard to the affair of Cleves: indeed it could not be longer delayed, if they had any deſire to appear concerned in it. The army of the confederates, joined to that of the United Provinces, had laid ſiege to Juliers; and the prince of Orange, who commanded it, had taken ſuch meaſures, that the place muſt of neceſſity fall into his hands. Our ſupplies were wholly uſeleſs to him, becauſe the houſe of Auſtria had taken no ſtep,

nor

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nor ſet any troops on foot, to oppoſe her enemies: and after this exploit the war, as they propoſed to carry it on, muſt be ſoon at an end. But the new council of the queen, compoſed of thoſe perſons I have already mentioned, thought they ſhould ſhew a maſter-piece of policy, by granting them now more than what they had been ſo long and ineffectually ſoliciting. They knew the condition the beſieged city was in, and they were deſirous of having the honour of taking it, as it could not hold out long, after the arrival of our troops. They likewiſe imagined, that this would be an incitement to the king of Spain to ſolicit an alliance with us, for which they thought he did not ſhew eagerneſs enough; and they were aſhamed to make all the advances themſelves. It was reſolved, therefore, that a body of eight thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, and eight pieces of cannon, ſhould be immediately ſent to Juliers; and that the command of this army ſhould be given to the mareehal de la Châtre. 1610.

When this determination was made public, and, for form's ſake, laid before the general council, I could not hinder myſelf from ſpeaking my ſentiments of it freely. I deſired to know for what end they were at the expence of this army, againſt enemies who did not defend themſelves; and for allies who no longer needed our aſſiſtance? I declared my opinion of this unſeaſonable ſuccour, which was not much for our honour. I repreſented to them the difficulties and delays to which our troops were expoſed by this unneceſſary march; and indeed, to perform it without having any thing to fear from the enemies they might meet in their journey, they muſt be obliged to go a great way about, and traverſe rude, mountainous, and barren countries. Conchini, who had brought over the count of Soiſſons and the duke of Bouillon to his opinion, and who was ſatisfied with his own ſecret reaſons, ſuffered me talk on, like a man whom they ſcorned to diſcloſe their deſigns to: and the departure of the

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1610. troops was reſolved on. However, to prevent any farther importunity from me, and to give me even a perſonal intereſt in this armament, they granted my ſon-in-law (who had long ſolicited a diſtinguiſhing employment in the German army) the poſt of field-marſhal-general; which was likely to be ſo much the more acceptable, as this quality gave him an unqueſtionable right to command in chief, if any thing happened to the general. It was not impoſſible even that La-Châtre would, through ſome diſguſt, reſign the command, as he had more than once been upon the point of doing. The difficulty of the roads alarmed him, as well as the dangers he might encounter in his march; and he alſo owned to me, and to ſome others of the council, that the Jeſuits raiſed great ſcruples in his mind about joining the heretics againſt good catholics. However, I gave him a little courage, by telling him of a more convenient rout than that which he had deſigned to take; and he diſpoſed himſelf to begin his march.

The preparations for this armament which fell to my charge, were made in ſuch a manner, that the army was compoſed of the beſt troops we had then on foot; they had a complete train of artillery, well ſerved; and the fund for the expences was ſo large, that the treaſurer brought back an hundred thouſand crowns. Prince Maurice acknowledged, that he had not for a long time ſeen a body of forces ſo fine and ſo well diſciplined: he expreſſed ſome ſurprize, indeed, that the general, who by all appearances ſhould be one of our beſt ſoldiers, had but a very ſlight knowledge of what was practiſed in ſieges, and in other parts of war.

This is all that I ſhall ſay of this expedition: the hiſtorians * have given a more particular account of

* See an account of the taking of Juliers, and this expedition, in the Merc Franç. and other hiſtorians, ann. 1610.

The taking of Juliers obliged the Emperor to lay aſide his deſign of ſequeſtring, into the hands of the arch duke Leopold of Auſtria, the

what

what happened in it, how our army paſſed into Germany, and how it returned. My fears of being too ſincere upon this ſubject, and the very unuſeful part I now began to act, obliges me to haſten towards the concluſion of theſe Memoirs. 1610.

territories that were in diſpute; and the dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburg quietly ſhared the whole ſucceſſion betwixt them: the elector of Brandenburg had Cleves, La-Mark, and Ravenſberg; and the duke of Neuburg, Juliers and Bergh. Philip-Lewis, ſon of this duke of Neuburg, had two ſons, of whom one continued the branch of Neuburgh; and from the youngeſt, the counts of Sulſback are deſcended; in whom the two branches are now going to be reunited, becauſe the branch of Neuburg will determine in the preſent elector Palatine: and from hence, an hundred and thirty years after the death of duke William of Juliers, the ſame difficulties on this eventual ſucceſſion are again likely to ariſe; the king of Pruſſia, of the houſe of Brandenburg, being able to produce the following reaſon for his oppoſition to this reunion, that the two branches were ſeparated when the treaty of 1666 was made, which ſeems only to ſtipulate for deſcendants of the contracting parties †; and the Emperor, on the other hand, finding it his intereſt to ſupport the prince of Sulſback; becauſe if this young prince ſhould happen to die without iſſue male, he would make uſe of his old pretenſe, of the male fiefs, as a reaſon for his taking poſſeſſion of Juliers and Bergh; beſides the intereſt he would have in it on account of the princes of Saxony, his allies.

There appeared a work in two volumes in 1738, wherein this matter is diſcuſſed and very well explained.

† This was written before the death of the laſt Emperor, and the laſt elector Palatine.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXIX.

1610. THAT which had just passed with respect to Cleves, and the conduct of the queen regent with respect to me, took from me at length all hope of bringing back the court to just notions upon the two chief points of government, the conduct of foreign affairs, and the management of the finances: on the contrary, the changeableness of the prince, what I saw daily pass before my eyes, and, above all, the air of dissimulation which in the last place they had recourse to, convinced me that they would never get out of the confusion in which the affairs of the council seemed to be lost, but by such an extrication as I was always afraid of. In order to bring that about, some time was necessary; for connections so strong and so well cemented as those which the king had formed for the destruction of the house of Austria, with all those of the princes interested in its destruction, are not broke all at once, nor sometimes without a struggle which has mischievous consequences. But I have no reason to doubt but that the queen regent and her counsellors employed all their arts to make them ineffectual. That prejudice in favour of what they called the party of religion; the hatred they bore to all

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all proteſtants, whether French or foreigners; a natural inclination, ſtrengthened by habit, to unite with Spain, every impulſe of which they could not help following publicly, when, the deſigns of Henry the Great becoming manifeſt, they were convicted of ſupporting a cauſe at once odious and deſperate; it could not be expected that the force of theſe motives was abated, when, by an unexpected ſtroke, they found themſelves upon the point of accompliſhing what they had ſo ardently deſired. My religion, my engagements, the advice I had given to the late king, of which at leaſt the certain effect would have been the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion in France, and in all Chriſtendom, even the death of that prince, which ſeemed to declare me the only repoſitory of his ſentiments, and the executor of his deſigns, all the glory and honour of which muſt neceſſarily reflect upon me: theſe were their motives for hatred againſt a man who had already ſo many powerful enemies; and, by the care which Sillery and Villeroi took to enforce them, they could not fail of having a ſpeedy effect. 1610.

Another, leſs openly declared, but probably ſtronger than all the others, becauſe it directly attacked thoſe private intereſts, united them all a ſecond time againſt me. This was a too exact and too impartial adminiſtration of the finances, for perſons whoſe avarice had already, in imagination, engroſſed to themſelves all the treaſures of the late king. I have on this head, an infinite number of circumſtances to relate, which certainly will not do any honour to the French name; but it would be to no purpoſe to be ſilent, ſince they are generally known. The reader then may here ſee ſome of the moſt important of them: they will ſerve to give him an idea of the court at that time.

I ſhall begin with the favourite of the queen-regent. He caſt his eyes at firſt upon the poſt of firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber, not that this dignity was capable of ſatisfying his ambition, but it was

1610. was neceſſary to begin by obtaining a rank which might take away the diſproportion that had hitherto been, between him and the other courtiers. To this motive was added ſome perſonal reſentment againſt Bellegarde, the cauſe of which I ſhall not relate, becauſe it would lead me into too long a diſcuſſion. It was highly flattering to the vanity of Conchini that the firſt ſtep he was ſeen to take at court, ſhould put him upon a par with his rival *: he therefore cauſed it to be propoſed to the duke of Bouillon, to treat with him for this poſt. Bouillon, who really intended to ſell it, readily accepted the propoſal, and was well paid for his compliance; for, in the firſt place, he obtained a ſuppreſſion of the offices eſtabliſhed by his majeſty in the neighbourhood of Sedan, for levying taxes upon all goods and merchandizes exported and imported; ſo that this gratuity may, without exaggeration, be ſaid to be worth more to him than his whole principality. To this Conchini added two hundred thouſand livres, under a pretence that he had been promiſed that ſum upon ſurrendering his city. I repreſented to them that the duke of Bouillon had been exactly paid all that was promiſed him, and if they looked into the account, they would be convinced of it: but what I ſaid was not regarded, and all the expence Henry had been at to get poſſeſſion of Sedan, ended, in paying twice for the place, which after all was ſtill in Bouillon's hands.

Conchini, however, did not effect his purpoſe ſo eaſily as he had imagined: the count of Soiſſons, as I have already hinted, oppoſed him, as well in that, as in his ſolicitations for the archbiſhopric of Tours; but he did it in ſuch a manner as left him room to hope there was a poſſibility of gaining him; and Conchini ſoon found the means. He cauſed the government of Normandy to be given

* The marquis of Ancre (for ſo he began then to be called) had a difference with the maſter of the horſe, the particulars whereof may be ſeen in the Hiſtory of the Regency of queen Mary de Medicis.

to

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to him, and to this end did not ſcruple to take it away from the ſecond ſon of France. The late king, that he might avoid creating any jealouſy among thoſe who aſpired to this government (which I had refuſed with the condition of changing my religion annexed to it) and willing to oblige Fervaques, who well deſerved that he ſhould have this conſideration for him, had beſtowed it upon his own ſon. It was not poſſible for me to give my aſſent to this action of Conchini's, or to the gratuity given by the council to the count of Soiſſons, at his majeſty's expence, by purchaſing, at a high price, ſome very inconſiderable claims which the houſe of Montaffié had in Piedmont, of which mention has been already made. However, notwithſtanding all my remonſtrances, the bargain was concluded. It was now their cuſtom to ſuffer me to talk, but to act without me. 1610.

Conchini found out a method how to diſpoſe of part of the king's treaſures, without its appearing that the ſums raiſed by thoſe means were received or employed for his uſe. This was by perſuading the queen to continue the iſſuing of comptants * as the late king was uſed to do. She wrote the following letter to me upon this occaſion, dated the 15th of June:

" Couſin,

" I am reſolved, for one year more, to continue " the comptants for the payment of thoſe ſums " which the late king, my lord, ordered the trea- " ſurers of the exchequer to depoſite in his privy purſe:

* The comptants were orders for payment of money, or receipts for ſums paid by the king's order, without ſpecifying in what manner the money ſo paid was employed. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. or their miniſters, ſeverely felt the abuſes that might be made of them; but an infinite number of expences, which intereſt of ſtate required to be kept ſecret, prevented their being aboliſhed. Cardinal de Richelieu determined to put an end to them, but in lieu thereof to leave a million of gold in the king's hands for his private expences, and to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure. Teſt. Polit. Part II. p. 143.

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1610. "purſe: Béringhen ſhall diſtribute the money ariſ-
"ing from hence to the ſame perſons as formerly.
"I therefore ſend this to acquaint you that it is
"my deſire you ſhould direct the treaſurer of the
"exchequer at preſent in office, to pay into the
"hands of the aforeſaid Béringhen, the ſaid comp-
"tant for the July quarter."

The next day Pugent and D'Argogues brought one of theſe comptants to me that I might ſettle it, and write underneath an order for the payment. I took it, and at the firſt glance did not obſerve that it contained any thing but a great number of ſums which the late king cauſed to be paid in this form: but, the amount of the whole appearing to me to be exceſſive large, inſtead of looking any farther, I told the bearers that it was true the conduct of Henry IV. ſeemed to authoriſe this form, but that at preſent this writing did not appear to me to be any longer a ſufficient diſcharge to him who ſhould venture to give an order for its payment. They replied, that, if I would take the trouble to read to the end of the paper, I ſhould find my objection removed by a diſcharge ſo valid, that I need not have recourſe for it to any other perſon. I continued to read, being curious to know how a paper, which ſeemed to contain nothing more than the articles of a comptant, and that not very long, ſhould produce a ſum of nine hundred thouſand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen ſols, which I had ſeen by caſting my eyes upon the ſum total. My curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied. The two or three firſt articles were followed by others with which I was not greatly pleaſed, and which ſeemed only inſerted there, in order to prepare me for a morſel ſtill harder to digeſt. This was a ſingle article of four hundred thouſand livres, with no other explanation than theſe few words, which were not very likely to baniſh my ſcruples: "Paid into the hands of the late "king."

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I ſtopped ſhort, and, looking earneſtly upon Puget, aſked him whether this ingenious trick was of his own invention; then reſolutely told him, that the late king had never taken up ſo much money at once for his private purſe: and that I had good proofs of his having never received this ſum, either in part or the whole. He ſtill continued to anſwer with the ſame indifference, That what I ſhould ſee at the bottom would remove all difficulties. This was four or five lines, written by the queen herſelf, and in theſe terms: "We have examined the articles of the above comptant, amounting to nine hundred thouſand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen ſols, and know that this ſum was really diſburſed by the command of the late king, my lord, to be paſſed in the form of a comptant, as uſual, which he was prevented from by death. We are ſatisfied that the ſaid articles are all juſt, and order an acquittance of comptant to be expediated, to ſerve as a diſcharge for Puget, treaſurer of the exchequer. Given at Paris, July 16, 1610, ſigned Mary." 1610.

It did not immediately occur to me what reſolution it was proper for me to take; but, after a moment's reflection, "Monſieur Puget, ſaid I, what I have read does not explain to me for what reaſon ſo large a ſum is demanded of me; for I can never be perſuaded that the late king received it. It is in vain therefore that you preſs me to ſign it upon that ſuppoſition: you muſt therefore be ſatisfied with this paper, ſuch as it is, for your diſcharge; for, you may depend upon it, I will add nothing to it." The affair did not reſt there: they renewed their endeavours to obtain my ſignature with as much obſtinacy as I refuſed it; for two whole days I was perſecuted about this comptant: at laſt they left me in quiet, and it remained among the reſt of my papers; but neither the queen regent or Conchini ever forgot it. The favourite thought this

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1610. this but a bad example for thoſe whom he was endeavouring to bring to a perfect conformity with all his deſires: as for the queen, her reſentment at my conduct on this occaſion was ſo great, that ſhe could not, with all her art, conceal it; and if, till then, ſhe had at times made ſome ſlight reflections upon what the king her huſband had often ſaid to her of the great uſe I ſhould be to her in the adminiſtration of affairs, from that moment all remembrance of it was eraſed, and gave place to a ſettled reſolution to beſtow my employments upon a perſon who would be more tractable.

The chancellor gave me an example of that ſort of behaviour they expected; but, inſtead of following it, I could not help reproaching him one day with a fraud truly unpardonable, on occaſion of a letter of exemption for the purchaſe of the regiſtry of the parliament, and of the Châtelet of Paris, which was ſhown in full council, as having been expediated and ſealed by the late king, although I knew that he had obſtinately refuſed to grant it, notwithſtanding Villeroi had, at different times, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon him. The law ordains, that, when the king dies, his ſeal ſhall be broken. This the chancellor not only neglected to do, but even dared to make uſe of it to authenticate ſeveral falſe regulations in favour of Conchini and ſome others, and continued this practice during five years after the king's demiſe, for which he had a double conveniency, as his ſon, who was ſecretary of ſtate, forged all thoſe writings, which he put the laſt hand to. Monſieur the admiral * received the aſſiſtance it gave him as if it came from heaven. He brought to be regiſtered in the parliament letters patents for duke and peer for the lordſhip of Damville in as good, and perhaps better form than they would have had if Henry IV. had been living.

* Charles de Montmorency, duke of Damville.

I find

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I find a ſecond letter from the queen regent of the ſame date with the former, but it was on a ſubject of leſs importance. It related to a breach which was to be repaired in the fortifications lately raiſed before the city and caſtle of Vendôme, at the deſire of the ſieur Jumeaux, who was governor of it. 1610.

It would have been very difficult, expoſed as I was to frequent quarrels with the miniſters and nobles, to have avoided one with the duke of Bouillon, who on all occaſions gave me proofs that he had not forgot or pardoned my having always preferred the king's intereſt to his, and who only waited for ſome opportunity to ſhew his reſentment of it. He one day propoſed in the council, that all thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the chief offices and employments in the kingdom, ſhould be required to give in accounts of receipt and expence, to be examined there. The council received this propoſal in the ſame ſpirit with him that made it; for, general as it ſeemed, yet it was levelled at me alone; and Bouillon undertook to give me notice of it, by ſaying to me, in full council likewiſe, that, being a man who loved method and exactneſs, and who was always deſirous of ſetting others a good example, he did not doubt but that I would begin, by laying before the council thoſe accounts that related to my poſt of grand maſter of the ordnance. I replied, in an accent and manner which poſſibly he did not expect, That whenever the king and queen were pleaſed to require it, I would lay my accounts before them, and with ſo much the more willingneſs, as I was well aſſured they would find nothing in them but what would be to their ſatisfaction, and my honour: that, in a minority, the princes of the blood repreſented the king's perſon likewiſe, therefore I would give them the ſame ſatisfaction; but that I was too well acquainted with the extent of the rights and privileges of my employment, not to know that, to make it accountable to any other tri-

1610. bunal, was to debaſe it. " Monſieur, replied the " duke, it appears to me that the conſtable and the " marſhals of France having a right to take cogni- " zance of all affairs of the army, as they fall imme- " diately under their inſpection by the nature of their " offices, ſo they may likewiſe of all poſts and em- " ployments relating to it; and yours is one of the " chief of that kind." " I ſee plainly, Monſieur," " returned I, without endeavouring to conceal my reſentment at this procedure, " that you have long " deſigned me this affront, and that you are artfully " ſeeking to ſupport yourſelf with M. the conſtable, " whoſe quality, merit and years, I honour and " eſteem, and for whoſe friendſhip I am greatly " obliged. I do not apprehend that any diſpute will " ariſe between him and I upon this matter; but as " for you and all the others, I declare that I do not " think myſelf accountable to you in what regards " my office, but to the king alone." " At leaſt, " Monſieur, replied the duke of Bouillon, you muſt " acknowledge, that, your patent being directed " to us, it implies that we have ſome degree of au- " thority there." " Monſieur, ſaid I, you have " either read it very ſlightly, or but ill underſtood " what you read, ſince, if what you aſſert be true, " I am likewiſe accountable to the mayors, the ſhe- " riffs, and the captains of the city-gates, in what " regards my employments, ſince the patent is di- " rected to them as well as to the marſhalls and " governors of France; but, if you are really ig- " norant why thoſe clauſes are inſerted, now know " from me, that it is in order that I may be aſſiſted " by all thoſe perſons in whatever I require of them, " which carries rather an idea of ſuperiority than " the contrary."

The queen, who found that the diſpute was grow- ing warm, and that it might produce a quarrel be- tween us, impoſed ſilence upon us both, and brought another queſtion upon the carpet. Bouillon's flat- tery to the conſtable miſſed of the effect he propoſed by

by it, for I was as much beloved by that nobleman for the ſervices I had done him in ſome very difficult circumſtances, as Bouillon, who had drawn him into thoſe circumſtances, was diſliked by him. When the council broke up, he told the queen, in Bouillon's preſence, that his claim was ill founded; then, addreſſing himſelf to the duke, he entreated him not to make any more attempts to engage him in his perſonal reſentments and ſchemes of revenge. This quarrel made a great noiſe at court, becauſe the friends of each party thought it incumbent upon them to engage in it. It was not here as in the council: my party was now greatly ſuperior to his. The families of Guiſe, Longueville, and many others, declared themſelves openly for me. 1610.

Nor did Conchini and his wife continue long to be in good intelligence with the miniſters and the other chief perſons of the ſtate. It is the fate of connections, produced by a ſpirit of intereſt, that the ſame cauſe which gave them birth, deſtroys them with the greater facility. Hence followed a thouſand ſcandalous ſcenes: they came openly to reproaches and abuſes, which from ſome remains of decency, ſhould have been ſtifled. As the whole court was actuated by the ſame ſpirit, it was ſoon filled with hatred, jealouſy, and faction; none but baſe or criminal methods were employed in diſputing for favours or in obtaining them; ſome old grudge or ſome new reſentment embittered every mind, and the bloodieſt cataſtrophes were often apprehended among perſons of the higheſt rank: it became neceſſary to watch them continually, to prevent the fatal effects of their quarrels. The public was not ignorant of the motives which animated one againſt the other, all the princes of the blood, the conſtable, the maſter of the horſe, the duke of Epernon, and many more. In theſe diſſentions Conchini had always the greateſt part*; ſometimes, while the

* See the detail of theſe intrigues and court-quarrels in Siri, vol. II. p. 327, and in the ſame hiſtorians.

1610. ballance was held between theſe illuſtrious rivals, the favours they diſputed for fell into the hands of mean inconſiderable perſons. Diſcord, confuſion, injuſtice, and fraud, all the evils which follow the contempt of ſubordination, poured in like a deluge upon the court and council, and more than once revenged the inſulted memory of Henry the Great upon his domeſtic enemies, by thoſe very means which they had made choice of to revenge themſelves.

There was not any of the European powers who did not, by their ambaſſadors, acquit themſelves of what they owed to this great king: but it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh among them, thoſe who were more ſincere in their compliments of congratulation for the acceſſion of the new king to the throne, than in thoſe of condolance for the loſs of him whom he ſucceeded. There were found Frenchmen baſe enough to ſay to the ambaſſadors from the king of Spain and the archduke, theſe very words: "Your "tears need not wet your handkerchiefs much; it "was a ſtroke of providence that ſaved the king "and the catholic religion from ruin." I ſhall ſay nothing of the reception that was given to theſe ambaſſadors.

My heart was too much removed from every ſenſation of joy, to allow me to have any part in the ceremony of the king's coronation *; therefore, while every other took the road to Rheims, I ſet out for Montrond, after having obtained the queen's permiſſion to go to one of my country-houſes. I carefully concealed my deſign of not returning again to Paris, at leaſt while I ſaw the ſame diſpoſitions among the courtiers, and the ſame diſorder in affairs: but I had really taken this reſolution, which was confirmed by my being attacked with a violent illneſs immedi-

* The ceremony is very minutely deſcribed in the Merc. Franç. the Royal MSS. P. Matthieu, &c. anno 1610. It was performed the 17th of October.

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ately after I arrived at Montrond, and which I could attribute to no other cauſe, but to the painful ſituation my heart had been in for four months. It was here alſo, that to calm the perturbations of my mind, I compoſed thoſe two little pieces of poetry, one of which is intituled, A Parallel between Cæſar and Henry the Great; and the other, An Adieu to the court*. 1610.

If this Adieu was not the laſt, it was not my fault: I ſaw very plainly that I could not remain there. The ſecret council held at the houſe of the nuncio, which I have already mentioned, was continually recurring to my mind. To this I added ſome words which a princeſs, my relation and my friend, told me ſhe had heard ſaid to the queen at the ſame time. Many other circumſtances of this nature filled my mind with the ſtrongeſt forebodings that the whole proteſtant church was at the eve of a perſecution. By a letter which Préaux wrote to me from Châtelleraut, dated November 10, he ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion; "Already, ſays he, I fancy I ſee the theatre raiſed to "renew our tragedies." With this melancholy expectation, my reſolution was already ſettled, to diſpoſe of all my employments to thoſe perſons who ſhould be recommended to me by Conchini and his wife, as money ſeemed to be cheapeſt with them. I intended to ſend one third of the ſums raiſed by theſe ſales to Switzerland, another to Venice, and another to Holland, where I propoſed to retire myſelf, when the ſtorm appeared ready to break out, with all the money that by good œconomy I had ſaved out of my yearly revenue. Thus had I regulated my affairs; and that I made any alteration in this plan, was owing to the following circumſtance.

That jealouſy and miſunderſtanding which ſub-

* Theſe pieces are recited in Sully's Memoirs, at the end of the laſt volume, p. 469.

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1610. fisted among the nobles and persons in office, rendered the ceremony of the coronation so tumultuous and disorderly, that it was expected some dangerous consequences would follow. I do not speak here of their disputes for rank and precedence only. The duke of Epernon, although for some years past, as it appeared, intimately connected with Conchini, yet one day, in concert with the duke of Eguillon, used language to him equally severe, injurious, and threatning, and this in public. The duke of Nevers, supported by the princes of the blood, treated Villeroi, Sillery, and Jeannin, in the same manner: they were seized with consternation and fear; they found that they had not power, and, doubtless, felt they were not innocent enough to repel these reproaches; and now began to be sensible of the need they had of me. It might have dangerous consequences, if the princes and nobles were suffered to go on in reproving the ministers of state. I appeared to them to be the only man capable of putting things upon another footing, by the authority, the respect, and even the awe, which my birth, my character, and my manners, had acquired me in the council; and they so earnestly solicited the queen to make use of her influence over me, to oblige me to return, that she sent me by an express the following letter.

" Cousin,

" The coronation of the king, monsieur my son, " being happily performed at Rheims, we shall in " a short time set out for Paris; and because many " affairs that require your presence, on account of " your employments, and the great abilities you " have shewn in the exercise of them, will be transacted the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, I desire you will return to " Paris with all possible haste, that we may find " you there upon our arrival. So, in full assur-

" ance

" ance that you will not fail; I beſeech God, &c. 1610.
" Written at Rheims, October 6, 1610.

" Your good couſin,

" MARY."

I imagined, that by eluding this journey for the preſent, they would think no more of it; therefore my anſwer to the queen was conceived in theſe terms:

" Madam,

" My inclination, my duty, and the honour you " do me, by remembring me, are all motives " equally ſtrong to engage my obedience to your " majeſty's commands; but a dangerous illneſs, " from which I am but lately recovered, has left " me in ſo weak a condition, and the certain know- " ledge I have, that my preſence in the council is " not agreeable to ſeveral perſons, who have more " authority there than I have, oblige me moſt " humbly to intreat you, not to be offended that I " delay going to court till I have recovered my " ſtrength; and that when I do attend your ma- " jeſty there, you will permit me, before thoſe per- " ſons whom you ſhall pleaſe to appoint, to give " you an account of my adminiſtration, to lay be- " fore you the ſtate in which I leave the affairs of " the kingdom, and the form I think neceſſary to " be obſerved to keep them in the ſame order and " tranquility they are now. I muſt beg your ma- " jeſty to believe that this will be the ſole end of " my journey, and that I have no intention to de- " ſire to concern myſelf any farther in the admini- " ſtration of affairs. I believe I have ſettled every " thing relating to my employments in ſuch a " manner as the ſecretaries of the Exchequer and " the other officers can certify to your majeſty, " that my preſence may be diſpenſed with till the " latter end of the year; at which time, if my

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1610. " health will permit me, I ſhall not fail to go to
" Paris, to pay all poſſible obedience to the king's
" commands and yours; and upon this truth, I
" beſeech the Creator, &c. From Montrond,
" October 12, 1610."

This was not what the queen propoſed to herſelf from the ſtep ſhe had taken to recal me; ſhe perceived, that by delaying my return to court, I was only forming excuſes for appearing there no more; or that if I did come, the part I ſhould play there would not be very proper to oblige thoſe who had deſerted her favourite, again to ſolicit his friendſhip, which was all ſhe had in view; and to effect this, ſhe made uſe of all my friends*, my wife, my ſon, and my ſon-in-law particularly: ſhe began by an inſinuating and gracious behaviour to them; ſhewed ſuch an unreſerved confidence in me, added ſo many kind expreſſions, and promiſes ſo flattering to their hopes, that they were now more than ever confirmed in their belief, that I ſhould commit a great error by laying down my employments. She afterwards ſent them, one after the other, to me, charged with the moſt obliging letters, and the fulleſt aſſurances of her favour and eſteem. I endeavoured, but in vain, to make them ſenſible, that all this was deep art on the queen's ſide; their ſolicitations, their intreaties, became perſecution, which at length fatigued me ſo much, that being deſirous of avoiding reproaches, to which I ſaw no end, and conſidering likewiſe that my compliance with requeſts thus earneſtly urged, would expoſe me to no inconveniences for the preſent, I reſolved to throw myſelf, though fairly warned of my danger, into all the ſnares that were laid for me at court, and again poſtponed the execution of my firſt deſign.

* " Bouillon had orders to go " to him (M. de Sully) at Paris, " on his return from his country- " ſeat, and to aſſure him of the " queen's regard for him, and that " ſhe would place the ſame con- " fidence in him the late king had. " He accepted the queen's offer, " &c." Hiſt. de la Mere et du Fils, vol. I. p. 112.

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I therefore ſet forwards to Paris, but ſhewed no great eagerneſs to get there, ſince I did not reach that city till the ſixteenth day after my departure from Montrond. The next morning, as I was preparing to go and pay my reſpects to the king and the queen regent, I was informed, that the king would paſs the whole forenoon in the Tuilleries, and that the queen was to dine at Zamet's. I did not doubt but that my attending her there would be very acceptable to her; and indeed ſhe received me in the moſt gracious manner imaginable: ſhe ſeveral times repeated, with an air of freedom and even pleaſure, by which I myſelf was almoſt impoſed upon, that ſhe would follow no other counſels but mine. She intreated me to attach myſelf to her ſon, as I had done to the late king: ſhe told me, that ſhe would not ſuffer me to lay down my employments; that ſhe would take ſuch meaſures, that I ſhould execute them in an abſolute independence; and deſired me to begin with the accounts of the finances for the year 1611, as I uſed to do; none of the miniſters having ſhown themſelves willing to take this care upon them during my abſence, and ſhe herſelf being deſirous that I ſhould continue to diſcharge it. The queen continued her diſcourſe till dinner was ſerved: I can relate only a ſmall part of it. When ſhe roſe from table, ſhe entertained me with the diſputes that had happened during the coronation: ſhe informed me, that the nobles had made an infinite number of demands, but that ſhe had reſolved to conclude nothing till my return: however, ſhe avoided ſaying any thing particular on this head, but only told me, that ſhe would talk to me more fully the firſt opportunity, and would let me know what were the ſervices ſhe required of me on this occaſion: theſe words ſeemed wholly free from reſerve. The whole court appeared ſo gay, that it was but too probable this ſerious converſation was extremely diſagreeable; accordingly it gave place to others more common; and 1610.

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1610. and at three o'clock the queen returned to the Louvre.

I went thither the next day, to pay my reſpects to the king, to the princes his brothers, and the princeſſes his ſiſters. This part of the court was ſtill untainted; the governeſſes, the nurſes, the other women and officers, which compoſed the houſhold of theſe young princes, formed a kind of ſeparate people, to whom the memory of king Henry was ſtill dear: the ſource of their tears and lamentations were not yet dried up; I wept with them, while we talked of that good prince; they conjured me, by every motive which they thought could make any impreſſion upon my mind, by the friendſhip Henry had for me, by my attachment to him, not to abandon the children of a father to whom I had now no other way of acquitting myſelf of what I owed him. Their intreaties and their tenderneſs could add nothing to thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and affection which filled my heart, and, to our mutual misfortune, could not increaſe my power of ſerving them. Upon my attentively viewing the three princes, I thought I diſcovered in the countenance and behaviour of the young king, ſtrong indications of thoſe happy diſpoſitions which time has ſince ripened and diſcloſed. I imparted my thoughts to my wife when I returned home; but it was with grief that I judged, heaven would not give a long life to the ſecond of theſe princes *.

I was viſited by almoſt the whole court, with all thoſe falſe ſhews of friendſhip, thoſe praiſes and civilities, which never ſo nearly reſemble the true, as when the heart has the leaſt ſhare in them. Conchini, who had taken care to have it inſinuated to me by Zamet and D'Argouges, that he was the perſon to whom

* This prince died the 16th or 17th of November in the next year, at the age of four years and an half: a quantity of water was found in his head; the too great thickneſs of the ſkull ſtopping the perſpiration in that part; which proved the innocence of Le-Maître, phyſician to the children of France, who was accuſed of having poiſoned this young prince. Merc. Franç. ann. 1611. p. 158.

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I was moſt obliged for the gracious reception I had met with from the queen, and for her kind intentions towards me, waited three whole days in expectation that I ſhould acknowledge this favour, by making him a complimentary viſit; which the courtiers had accuſtomed him to look upon as a tribute due to his great influence and authority; or that I ſhould at leaſt ſend ſome perſon to diſcharge this duty for me. However, as he neither ſaw me, nor received any meſſage from me, he condeſcended at length to make me a viſit: but that I might not aſſume too much upon a ſtep by which he conceived that he degraded himſelf, he was very careful to make me ſenſible that he came only upon his own buſineſs: and indeed our converſation turned chiefly upon his poſt of firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber; upon his penſions, which the queen had ordered ſhould be carried to account in the ſame manner as thoſe of Bellegarde; and upon a gift which he had lately received out of the offices of the gabelle in Languedoc, for which he had a brevet, obtained before the late king's death; but this I did not think proper to mention to him. I thought my anſwers to all this were not calculated to inſpire him with any inclination to quit the ſubject he was upon, and for which he ſaid he had come to me; yet he could not help it: but I believe it was not long before he repented it; for having ſlided in, by way of advice, that the beſt thing I could do, would be to comply with the queen in all things, and accommodate myſelf wholly to her will (which was tacitly charging me with ruining my own affairs by my obſtinacy) I made him this ſhort and ſevere anſwer, That I would pay an exact obedience to all the commands of the queen regent, when they were for the ſervice of the king, the advantage of affairs, and the relief of the people; and when my honour and my conſcience told me I might do it, without prejudicing either. Every word he uttered ſeemed to increaſe the averſion I had to him: he added 1610.

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1610. ſomething more, but with that caution which my behaviour to him ſeemed to authoriſe. I anſwered with equal coldneſs and reſerve, and we parted very ill ſatisfied with each other; he, I believe, with fewer hopes than ever of moulding me to his purpoſe; and I full of grief at the advancement of thoſe misfortunes which this preſumptuous inſatiable man, without abilities, without experience, yet inveſted with an abſolute authority, was bringing upon France.

It appeared to me, from the day after this converſation, that things were greatly altered: the queen, whom I went to wait upon at the Louvre, ſeemed to have loſt much of her former graciouſneſs; yet ſhe conſtrained herſelf to preſerve ſome appearance of it, that the alteration might not be too remarkable, and to hinder me from imputing it to the converſation I had the day before with Conchini: ſhe again mentioned to me the importunate demands of the grandees, taxed them with extravagance, and ſeemed reſolved to refer them to the council; at which ſhe deſired I would always be preſent, to take care that nothing paſſed there contrary to the intereſt of the king and the ſtate. She promiſed me, upon her royal word, preſenting her hand at the ſame time to me, that ſhe would ſupport me there as ſtrenuouſly as the late king had done. I loſt all my ſuſpicions at this declaration; I flattered myſelf for a moment that this princeſs, having ſeriouſly reflected on all that had lately happened, was become ſenſible of the danger of purſuing thoſe meaſures they wanted to engage her in; but I was ſoon undeceived.

Prepared as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not, without extreme ſurprize, ſee, that ſcarcely any buſineſs was tranſacted in the council, but what related to gifts to the nobles, to augmentations of the penſions to perſons in office, the paying of debts which had been aboliſhed, the abatement of farms, and diſcharges of the farmers, and revocations of the

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the contracts made for the rents, regiſtries, and domains; creation of new offices, exemptions, and privileges; in a word, a thouſand ſchemes to render the people miſerable, inſtead of applying the treaſures amaſſed by the late king to their relief, as in juſtice ought to have been done; ſince the circumſtances of affairs were ſo changed, that the deſign for which they were raiſed could not be executed: but the rapaciouſneſs of the great lords would have ſwallowed ſums far more conſiderable. Here follow the demands, which the chief amongſt them endeavoured to oblige the queen and the council to grant them. It muſt not be expected here, that this article can extend itſelf into a liſt, as I am afraid the other will appear, though I have cut off the demand of trebling and doubling the penſions, as a matter common to almoſt all the articles. 1610.

At the head of this liſt I ſhall put M. the prince, who cauſed me to be ſolicited ſometimes openly, ſometimes in a covert manner, to ſupport his pretenſions to the government of Château-Trompette, to that of Blaye, and to the principality of Orange, extended as far as the borders of the Rhone. The count of Soiſſons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, that of the caſtle of Caën, and that an edict on linen cloth ſhould be created for his profit, which I have mentioned in its place. The duke of Lorrain demanded the payment of the whole ſum expreſſed in his treaty, although I had ſettled this affair a long time ago, when it was agreed, that that ſum ſhould be reduced two thirds. The duke of Guiſe ſolicited for a marriage between himſelf and madame de Montpenſier; for the revocation of the rights of patents in Provence, and of offices for collecting the duties at the gates of Marſeilles; he demanded likewiſe that his debts ſhould be paid. The duke of Maine demanded other ſums, beſides thoſe expreſſed in his treaty. D'Eguillon, a gift of thirty thouſand crowns; the government of Breſſe, and the city of Bourg;

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1610. Bourg; and the embaſſy of Spain, with exceſſive appointments. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the firſt that became vacant. The duke of Nevers demanded the property of the gabelles of Réthelois, with the governments of Mézieres and Saint-Monchout. The duke of Epernon, a body of infantry kept conſtantly on foot; the reverſion of his government for his ſon; fortifications to be raiſed at Angoulême and at Xaintes; Metz, and the county of Meſſin, taken from Montigny. The duke of Bouillon demanded a ſum of money, for the payment of old debts, which he pretended were due to him; the aids, tailles, and gabelles, of the viſcounty of Turenne, to his uſe; and that the homage of this viſcounty ſhould be reduced to a ſimple homage: the arrears of his garriſons and his penſions during his exile; the right of holding general aſſemblies of the reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money ariſing from the petty ſeals, his ſalary to be doubled, and letters of nobility in Normandy. Villeroi demanded, that a garriſon ſhould be maintained at Lyons, the royal lieutenancy of the province taken from Saint-Chaumont; a marſhal's ſtaff for his ſon D'Alincourt; the repeal of a bargain which I had made for the repurchaſe of the crown lands in that province, and the mortgages of his regiſtries and upon the king's lands.

It will be eaſily imagined that Conchini's demands were not leſs conſiderable than thoſe of any other; a marſhal's ſtaff, the governments of Bourg, Dieppe, and Pont-de-l'arche; a donation of the money produced by the offices of the gabelle of Languedoc, paſſed in the form of a comptant; the profit ariſing from the reduction made upon public works, granted to Moiſſet and to Feydeau: this was his portion. Châteauvieux, the chevalier de Sillery, Dollé, Déagent, Arnaud the intendant, Duret the phyſician, all the members of the queen's private council, who ſolicited ſo well for others, did not forget their

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own affairs. It would be almoſt the ſame thing to enumerate all thoſe perſons of any quality who had a ſhare in this profuſe diſtribution of penſions, gratuities, privileges, appointments, &c. as to name thoſe who are comprehended in this liſt, for every one had ſome claim there; the princes, governors of provinces, the lieutenant-civil, the Prevot des Marchands, and even the ſocieties and ſovereign courts; all the officers of the crown were to have their penſions augmented twenty-four thouſand livres each; and the ſalaries of every member of the council raiſed in proportion, and their number to be conſiderably increaſed. In a word, there ſeemed to be a general conſpiracy to pillage the royal treaſure, which was now conſidered as a lawful prize. 1610.

The indignation which I felt in myſelf againſt a licentiouſneſs that degenerated into an attempt upon the royal authority, would not permit me to examine, whether the reſolution I had taken, ſingly to oppoſe this multitude of rapacious courtiers, was abſolutely prudent; but this nothing could perſuade me from doing, while the place I held in the council authoriſed ſuch a conduct. My honour, my conſcience, my reputation, which I was called upon to ſupport; the intereſt of the king and the people, whoſe only defender I conſidered myſelf; would not permit me to attend to my own ſafety: the laſt words, nay, the intreaties of the queen regent, gave me a right to oppoſe them; and though I was very ſenſible that ſhe did not deſire I ſhould underſtand them literally, yet, all things conſidered, I was going to render her a ſervice ſo eſſential, that ſhe could not, or ought not to diſavow it: and yet I had another motive, which I will not ſcruple to declare, ſince I would have my moſt ſecret ſentiments known to the reader. That deſire of glory, that ſelf-love, which, when under the direction of reaſon and juſtice, has always appeared to me to have ſomething great and noble in it; ſelf-love, I ſay, dictated to me, that ſince, ſooner or later, I muſt neceſſarily

1610. neceſſarily be removed from the miniſtry, I ſhould riſk but little by haſtening the moment of my diſmiſſion; and that I ſhould gain a great deal by giving a convincing proof, that this diſgrace would not have happened to me, had I not oppoſed the unjuſtifiable meaſures I ſaw purſued by the council, and diſdained the ſervile compliance of the reſt of the courtiers: there remains to unhappy virtue this laſt recompence for the diſappointment of its good deſigns, that it ſhines with redoubled ſplendor amidſt oppoſition and perſecution.

The queen ſoon left me only this conſolation in the painful labours I began to ſuſtain; all her conduct ſerved to ſhew me, that ſhe had only recalled me to Paris, and oppoſed me to the whole court at this tumultuous time, to reduce me to the fatal alternative of incurring the public contempt if I betrayed my duty, or particular enemies (which was ſtill more to be dreaded) if I diſcharged it. A demand, which I had rendered of no effect in full council, at the riſk of making myſelf a thouſand cruel and implacable enemies, was afterwards privately granted as a gratuity by this princeſs and her confidant.

It is not my deſign to give a detail of all the ſchemes that, during this ſhort time, were ſet on foot in the council, nor of what was ſaid or done to render them ineffectual; it would be, in reality, to deſcribe ſo many ſuits, where, as in law, they did not fail to make uſe of all the methods commonly practiſed to corrupt a judge too rigidly juſt, and againſt which I was ſo much the more incited to exclaim, as they attempted likewiſe to carry their point, either by ſecret plots or by open cabals. I ſhall give the reader one example, which will ſerve to ſhew, that the evil was great enough to demand remedies no leſs violent than thoſe I made uſe of. The article relating to Villeroi, or rather to D'Alincourt, is not the leaſt curious or important of thoſe which the reader has already had ſome account of.

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When D'Alincourt demanded, that a ſtrong garriſon ſhould be placed in the city of Lyons, of which he was governor, and maintained at the king's expence, he had two ends to anſwer by it; one was, to increaſe his income, by the profits ariſing from this garriſon; for indeed he had occaſion for great riches, to enable him to live as he propoſed to do, not merely as a marſhal of France (a dignity which he expected to be raiſed to in a very little time) but with the ſtate and retinue of a prince: vain pageantry! and doubly ridiculous in one who had only large poſſeſſions to ſupply the diſadvantages of a mean birth. The other was, to compel the Lyonnois, by the terror with which ſo many forces would inſpire them, to ſacrifice to him their moſt ancient rights and privileges, which for a long time he had a deſign to fall upon. As for the treaty made for the redemption of the royal domain, which in that province amounted to twelve hundred thouſand livres, he was inclined to demand the ſuppreſſion of it, becauſe thoſe that were concerned in that affair ſecured to him a preſent of an hundred thouſand livres, if he could by any means hinder that redemption from taking place. 1610.

His deſigns, however, were croſſed by two vigilant enemies, theſe were, the whole city of Lyons, and Saint-Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in that province; but to theſe he oppoſed the chancellor Sillery, and Villeroi his father, both very powerful in the council, and in high favour with the queen; theſe he ſet on to ſolicit for him, and with the more eagerneſs, becauſe he found by my diſcourſe, when he came to intreat me to be favourable to his pretenſions, that he could not depend upon me in the council, before whom theſe demands were to be laid; he ſaw plainly, that he would have occaſion for all his batteries; but he did not doubt of his ſucceſs, when he was informed that his father and Sillery had brought over Conchini to his party, who

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1610. afterwards prevailed upon the queen to eſpouſe it likewiſe.

We were all aſſembled in the great cloſet, where a council was to be held upon this affair, when the queen came up and ſpoke to me in favour of D'Alincourt: I told her majeſty, with great frankneſs, that ſhe muſt not expect I would give my vote for a compliance with two ſuch unjuſt propoſals; that it was not reaſonable the king ſhould loſe twelve hundred thouſand livres, to put one hundred thouſand in the pocket of Mr. D'Alincourt; that this was to open the way for every one elſe to get the like treaties for redemption of the domain, and other parts of the royal revenue, which amounted to near fifty millions, revoked over all the kingdom; that I would as ſtrenuouſly oppoſe his other demand, although I knew it would be alledged, that the council had no right to take cogniſance of it, and that it was only laid before it to get the firſt authoriſed; that by theſe meaſures we were going to expoſe one of the chief cities of the kingdom, hitherto well affected and loyal, to the danger of violating their allegiance, merely to gratify an unreaſonable requeſt, ſince by the laſt treaty, which I myſelf had concluded with cardinal Aldobrandin for the duke of Savoy, his majeſty being to keep poſſeſſion of Breſſe, and of both the borders of the Rhone, Lyons was no longer a frontier city, and having no more neighbours to fear, had no farther occaſion for a garriſon in it.

The queen ſeemed to be ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and turned towards Villeroi, as if to make him approve of them likewiſe; but he was not ſo eaſily repulſed, he gave her reaſons in anſwer to mine, ſome good and ſome bad; and when he came to the article of the garriſon, he told her, that it was indeed true, the Spaniards and Savoyards were not ſuch near neighbours of this city as formerly, therefore it was not againſt their attempts that it was neceſſary

neceſſary to ſecure the city of Lyons, ſince they were moreover upon the point of becoming our friends and allies, but that the true enemies to be feared were the huguenots, who being now in a better condition, had probably a greater inclination than ever to make an attempt upon that city; he named Leſdiguieres in particular, as one from whom moſt danger was to be apprehended. 1610.

Berengueville overheard what Villeroi ſaid to the queen, and repeated every word to me: this confirmed to me the truth of what I had heard concerning the ſecret council held at the houſe of Ubaldini, the Pope's nuncio. I ſaw with indignation, that the ſole view of theſe gentlemen was to ſet the catholics and proteſtants in France at variance, as well as in all Europe. I was no leſs ſhocked at Villeroi's accuſation of a man allied to my family, and riſing up haſtily, I went towards the queen, who was ſtill liſtening to him, and told her, that I had forgot to forewarn her of a thing which I was as well aſſured of as if I had been a witneſs of it, and this was, that Villeroi, in his deſign of rendering her favourable to his ſon's pretenſions, cared but little by what means this was brought about; and did not ſcruple to make the falſe and moſt malignant repreſentations againſt the proteſtants, without even excepting one, whom a thouſand great and good ſervices ought to place out of the reach of ſuſpicion; that his malice went ſo far as to treat them as enemies, whom France had more reaſon to fear than Spain itſelf; that if her majeſty, judging Villeroi's arguments and mine to be of equal weight, ſhould reſolve to behold the proteſtants and the Spaniards in the ſame light, nothing remained for her to do (and I looked ſtedfaſtly upon him) but to exclude us both from the council. This was a ſevere ſtroke upon Villeroi; but this man, who had neither abilities to ſpeak in public, nor knew how to give his vote in the council, had not a ſingle word to ſay in anſwer to me; indeed his ſurpriſe, and

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1610. the ſecret reproaches of his own conſcience, might well render him dumb upon this occaſion: all he did was to go to that part of the room where the chancellor and the duke of Epernon were conferring together; and the queen alſo, quitting her place without anſwering me, went to join the count of Soiſſons and marechal Briſſac, who were talking in private. I foreboded no good from theſe ſeveral connexions.

Nothing was done this day in D'Alincourt's affair, and I ſometimes flattered myſelf that the meaſures I had taken would hinder it from being reſumed; but it was only put off till his father and himſelf, the chancellor and his brother, by new cabals with Conchini and the counſellors, ſecured all the votes in their favour, even that of Bethune my brother, who came to me with an intention to make one effort more to ſoften me: he repreſented to me, that my oppoſition was in vain, and would have no other conſequence but to bring every body upon my back; that I ſhould have the mortification to ſee that my example would not be followed even by my neareſt relations. I replied, that I never expected any thing elſe from him, but that I was abſolutely determined to continue to the end faithful in the performance of my duty: and I kept my word, for in the firſt council that was held on this occaſion, ſeeing that the counſellor to whoſe charge it fell that day was ready to make his report, I aſked him haſtily, what was the buſineſs? he replied, that it related to ſome propoſals which were to be made concerning the domain in Lyonnois. I interrupted him, ſaying that I was well aſſured D'Alincourt, who was moſt intereſted in that affair, had formed ſo ſtrong a party for him in the council, by the mediation of his friends and relations, that it was already reſolved on, even before it was laid before it; but that I proteſted againſt it, as being abſolutely contrary to his majeſty's intereſt; and that I deſired a certificate of my proteſtation from the

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the clerk, to send it to the parliament to be registered there, in order that this writing might one day serve to show the king the bad conduct pursued by his council after the death of the king his predecessor*. 1610.

* This account perfectly agrees with what is said in L'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils: "The duke of "Sully, says that historian, continued to exercise his office for a "fortnight or three weeks after "the coronation was performed, "at which time the disputes on "account of the Swiss at Lyons, "which I have spoke of before, "were renewed, because Villeroi "wanted to have their pay charged "on the general receipts of that "city. The duke of Sully was so "much out of temper on this "score, that, not content with "maintaining, it was unreasonable to load the king with so "great an expence, when the inhabitants of Lyons were sufficient to keep guard themselves, "as they had always been used to "do: he also treated the chancellor, who sided with Villeroi, "roughly, telling him, they were "all agreed amongst themselves to "ruin the king's affairs. As this "was an affront to all these ministers in common, they joined "their endeavours to ruin the "duke, the harshness of whose "temper was not to be softened." This writer afterwards relates the several steps that were taken to unite the ministers with the count of Soissons, the marquis of Ancre, the marquis of Cœuvries, and others, against the duke of Sully. As this author is one of the duke of Sully's enemies, I quote him on purpose to confirm the truth of what the duke says, that he might have kept his posts, if he would have joined in the measures of the new council; and that his perseverance in the support of justice, the public interest, and the late king's plan of government, was the cause of his disgrace. All men of sense have not, however, given the same judgment on his inflexibility with the author I am speaking of, though all the enemies of that minister have agreed with him in it. In the appendix to the Merc. Franç. for the year 1610, p. 9. we find an entire discourse on this subject, which justifies him in a manner extremely to his honour. The Memoirs de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 259. also speaks of him in the following manner: "The change which the "said sieur de Sully made in the "condition of France, by retrieving "her from a state of indigence, "and rendering her rich and opulent, by his œconomy and industry, sufficiently proves his abilities: his free remonstrances "to the king, and his opposition "to all great men, discover his probity; and his having been able "to stand his ground amongst so "many enemies, without sinking "under his own apprehensions, or "their threats, shews how great "were his prudence and courage: "even those who envy him are "compelled to own, that he alone "is more useful to the public, and "has more knowledge of business, "than all the rest together; and "provided he would abate a little "of his austerity, he would be a "servant worthy of your majesty. "Tho' they endeavour to keep "him from having any concern "in the management of affairs, "yet that cannot stop him from "freely speaking his sentiments of "the little respect paid to the memory of the late king, and of the "small deference shewn to our "young prince," &c. See also the manuscript discourse cited by us in the preface to this work.

1610. These last words, which, it must be granted, were very severe, had no other effect, than to suspend, for a short time, the deliberation they were preparing for. No one replied; a general consternation seized all that were present: the chancellor alone, without shewing any emotion, said to the counsellor, "Lay other papers before us, and let us proceed "to affairs of a different kind; we shall find a "time for this when these heats and animosities are "over, as it generally happens in things that are "most contested." The counsellor obeyed; the other matters were discussed; D'Alincourt's demand, when it was next laid before the council, was granted without opposition: but this was not till I myself was banished from the board; which happened in so short a time afterwards, that it may be said it was by this vigorous effort I finished my career.

I had now no other part to take but to retire from court. I had given sufficient proofs to all France, that it was not for want of the most strenuous efforts on my side that the affairs of the state were plunged into disorder: it was become impossible for me to apply any remedy to the increasing evil. This no one doubted of: I struggled to no purpose; and all that I had for the price of my labours and my good intentions, was the hatred of those persons whose interest it would have been to second them: Conchini employed his favour, the princes of the blood their authority, the other persons in office their credit, only to render me odious. I saw nothing preparing for me for the future, but new mortifications and other troubles. All my actions, my words, nay, my silence itself, witnessed against persons who were inwardly struck with the injustice of these reproaches. My post of superintendant of the finances was eagerly coveted by two princes of the blood, each of whom was made to hope that he should gain it when I was driven from court. By staying there too long, I exposed myself to the danger

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danger of being violently diſpoſſeſſed of all my other employments. Thoſe of my friends, who were moſt ſincere, and beſt knew the plots that were forming againſt me, were continually giving me counſels which I was convinced deſerved to have more weight with me, than the ſolicitations of ſome of my relations, who were either carried away by a miſtaken tenderneſs for me, or a regard to their own intereſt. I therefore reſolved to defer no longer the reſignation of my two employments of ſuperintendant of the finances, and governor of the Baſtile; which were the moſt panted after, as by them they could diſpoſe of the revenues and treaſures of the king, hoping to purchaſe by this ſacrifice, which might have ſtill ſome appearance of being voluntary, the confirmation of all my other dignities *, which it was not in the power of my enemies to deprive me of, eſpecially if I took the precaution of removing for ever out of their ſight an object which could never fail of re-animating their hatred, by the effect of a jealouſy unavoidable, while I continued amongſt them; and, that I might do all at once, I fixed myſelf in a reſolution to quit the court, and Paris itſelf, at the ſame time that I reſigned all further ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. 1610.

I prepared to execute this deſign on the beginning of the year 1611 †. The queen appeared deſi-

* The duke of Sully at that time bore the following titles: Maximilian de Béthune, knight, duke of Sully, peer of France, ſovereign prince of Henrichemont and Boiſbelle, marquis of Roſni, count of Dourand, lord of Orval, Montrond, and St. Amand, baron of Eſpineuil, Bruyeres-le-Chaſtel, Villebon, La-Chapelle, Noivion, Baguay, and Bontin, chancellor to the king in all the councils, captain-lieutenant of two hundred gens d'armes under the queen's command, grand maſter and captain-general of the artillery, ſurveyor-general of France, ſuperintendant of the king's finances, fortifications, and buildings, governor, and the king's lieutenant general of the provinces of Poitou, Châtelleraud, and Laudun, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and captain of the caſtle of the Baſtile.

† Here follow ſeveral accounts of this event, very different one from the other: "The year 1611 "was begun with the retirement "of M. de Sully; who at the inſti- "gation, and by the intrigues of "the two princes of the blood, "was drove from the manage- "ment of affairs. The ſuperin- "tendance of the finances and the

1610. rous of oppoſing it; but this was only for form's ſake. Here follows the letter ſhe wrote to me upon this occaſion.

" Couſin,

" I hear, with concern, that you have taken a re-
" ſolution to diſcharge yourſelf of the care of the
" king my ſon's affairs, particularly of thoſe relat-

" cuſtody of the king's treaſures, " were taken from him. The queen " alſo took the Baſtile out of his " hands, and gave the cuſtody " thereof to M. de Châteauneuf [it " ſhould be Châteauvieux.] The " finances were put under the di-" rection of Meſſrs. de Château-" neuf, the preſident De-Thou, " and Jeannin: but the laſt was " alſo made comptroller-general of " the finances, which threw the ſole " management of them into his " hands, to the excluſion of the " other two, who aſſiſted only in " the direction." Baſſompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 308.

" The 24th of this month (Ja-" nuary) M. de Sully quitted the " Arſenal. There is a report that " a brevet is iſſued to appoint him " marſhal of France, with a grant " of ſome thouſands of crowns as " a recompence to him. He has " voluntarily reſigned the direc-" tion of the finances, *tanquam é ſpeculo prævidens tempeſtatum ju-turam.*" Journal de L'Etoile, page 256.

" The prince of Condé and the " count of Soiſſons ſpoke the firſt " of it to the queen, the miniſters " ſeconded them, and the marquis " of Ancre gave him the finiſhing " ſtroke. Thus he found himſelf " under the neceſſity of retiring in " the beginning of February, &c." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, Vol. I. p. 235.

" Some have written that the " duke of Sully, ſhortly after the " reconciliation of the count of " Soiſſons and the duke of Guiſe, " voluntarily reſigned into the " queen's hands, as well the Baſ-" tile, as the ſuperintendancy of " the finances. Others ſay, that " making an offer to the queen to " give up all his poſts, he was " taken at his word: others have " ſpoken differently of it. He " himſelf ſays the contrary in the " letter he wrote to the queen, " which was printed ſhortly af-" ter." Merc. Franç. anno 1611.

This letter is afterwards recited, but is not mentioned in Sully's Memoirs. The Memoirs of the regency of Mary de Medicis, Vol. I. p. 57, diſſents alſo from the foregoing accounts, aſſerting that the duke of Sully earneſtly ſolicited the queen to diſmiſs him, which ſhe with great reluctance conſented to.

There may poſſibly be ſome truth in both theſe opinions: That is, that the duke of Sully would, out of queſtion, have freely conſented to keep his poſts, provided he could have enjoyed them with the ſame authority, tho' not with the ſame ſatisfaction, as under the late king: but the efforts he made for that purpoſe alienated the queen, the great men, and the miniſters from him, and at laſt encreaſed his diſguſt, as he found all his endeavours would be in vain. There is nothing in Matthieu's account diſcordant with this notion: on the contrary, he agrees to what is ſaid in theſe Memoirs. " The duke of " Sully, ſays he, after the death of " Henry the Great, immediately " ſaw he ſhould not poſſeſs the " ſame authority under the new

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" ing to the finances, contrary to the hope I had con- 1610.
" ceived, that you would continue to perform the
" duties of that employment as you did in the time
" of the late king my lord. I entreat you to think well
" of this deſign before you put it into execution, and
" let me know your laſt determination, that I may
" regulate mine upon it. So beſeeching God, &c.

Paris, Jan. 24, 1611.

My anſwer to this letter being ſuch as the queen probably expected, ſhe ſent Bouillon to me two days afterwards with the brevets of diſcharge from my two employments, of ſuperintendant of the finances and governor of the Baſtile, in the moſt

" reign as he did under the laſt; " and that the enmity of the count " of Soiſſons would bring on his " ruin. As the direction of the " finances had already been taken " from him, the queen was adviſed " to deprive him alſo of the Baſ- " tile. This was eſteemed ſo bold " a ſtep, that it was ſaid Henry the " Great would not have dared to " have taken it for fear of ſtirring " up thoſe of the duke's religion to " reſent it. She, nevertheleſs, ſaw " him readily obey her command " to reſign the Baſtile to Château- " vieux, one of her knights of ho- " nour. Had he made any oppo- " ſition, ſome of the great men " at court, who were afraid his " ſteadineſs might be drawn into " precedent, would have rendered " this diſmiſſion more difficult. As " ſoon as he was ſtript of this of- " fice, he ſaw the prejudice reſult- " ing from his having ſo eaſily " ſubmitted; and deſired the " queen's permiſſion to go to " Roſny, ſaying he would not ſtay " there above three days. When " he was there thoſe of his religion " cautioned him not to go back " to court, where he had been ſo " ill-treated. His wife and brother " on the contrary urged him to re- " turn, and he did ſo accordingly; " but thoſe who had been of the " oppoſite opinion withdrew them- " ſelves from him, eſteeming it a " meanneſs in him not to ſhew a " greater reſentment for ſuch ill- " uſage. The queen received him " favourably; but the count of " Soiſſons cauſed him to be kept " from having any concern in bu- " ſineſs, which had been ſo much " under his immediate manage- " ment in the late king's reign. " Seeing himſelf thus fallen both " from his credit and employ- " ments, he went to Sully; and " not thinking himſelf in ſafety " enough there, he retired into the " province of Bourbon." This writer adds, that one of the principal motives which induced the proteſtants to endeavour to increaſe his diſcontent, was their deſire of having his great fortune engaged for the advantage of the common cauſe: but that he ſubmitted to the prudent advice given him by La-Valée, the lieutenant-general of the artillery, who has been mentioned before, to keep himſelf quite retired, without having any concern in the quarrels which ſoon after happened. Ib. p. 22.

authentic

1610. authentic form, and, at the same time, most advantageous for me. Her majesty in these brevets declared, that it was at my repeated solicitation she had granted me leave to resign these places; and that I should not hereafter, upon any pretence whatever, be questioned concerning my conduct while I held them.

To these brevets was added another, dated January 27, by which her majesty, in consideration of the services the late king had received from me during a long course of years, and of which she made a most honourable mention, granted me a donation of three hundred thousand livres, to be paid out of the royal treasury, free from the duty of the fifth and tenth penny, and the duty given to the order of the Holy Ghost, from which his majesty was desirous I should be exempted. The letters I received the following days from their majesties, either contained orders to give up the castle of the Bastile to the sieur de Chateauvieux, whom they had made king's lieutenant of it; or acquittals for some jewels of the crown which I had delivered back into their hands, part of which consisted of a jewel called the Licorne, and some other rings and jewels, for which a promissory note of mine for ten thousand livres was lodged with Puget, who now returned it to me, and part of three large rubies, for which I had given my receipt to madame Le-Grand, when I took them out of her hands, where they were mortgaged.

I employed the remainder of the time I staid in Paris in regulating my domestic affairs, in a detail of which the reader would find nothing to merit his attention, except probably the counsels I gave to my secretaries. I had generally six principal ones, as well for the business of my four chief offices of the crown, as for any extraordinary affairs I might have to transact with the court; and I found it necessary to have a great many other clerks or transcribers under them: but those I shall mention here

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were my chief ſecretaries, whoſe abilities and exact diſcharge of their ſeveral duties well deſerved that I ſhould give them a ſhare in affairs of importance, and my confidence in nice and delicate conjunctures; among theſe, the four brothers of the name of Arnaud were favoured in a particular manner by me. The eldeſt died while he was yet young, many years before the king was aſſaſſinated. I had ſo great a regard for the ſecond, that from being my ſecretary only, I procured him to be made counſellor of ſtate, and intendant of the finances: the third went into the army, and was made a colonel of a regiment of horſe: and to the laſt I gave the poſt of treaſurer of France, and that of overſeer of the highways. All my other ſecretaries were provided for in proportion. I believe I ſhall not be accuſed of having broken one of the laws of nature, which directs that the adherents to us, or perhaps we ſay more properly, to our places, ſhould not be diſappointed of thoſe rewards, which it is in our power to beſtow upon them according to their merit. Duret was preferred to be a treaſurer of France, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and comptroller-general of the finances; Renouard was made auditor of accounts; La-Clavelle overſeer of the bridges and cauſeways; Du-Maurier, who had quitted the duke of Bouillon's ſervice for mine, was employed in public affairs, to which his genius and inclination led him, and has been ſince ambaſſador to Holland; Murat was made treaſurer of the extraordinary of war; La-Font, whom I have often mentioned in theſe Memoirs, acquired the favour and confidence of the late king, who, among other benefits that he beſtowed upon him, made him overſeer of his furniture; Gillot was made ſecretary of the ordnance. All theſe men were truly ſenſible how much they were going to loſe by my retreat, and they omitted no ſort of entreaties or methods to prevail upon me to alter my reſolution. I will do moſt of them the juſtice to declare, that I believe, by 1610.

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1610. by acting thus, they thought they were ſerving my intereſt at leaſt as much as their own: but as for the two Arnauds, the eldeſt eſpecially, and two or three more, they were but little affected with my purpoſe. They would even have been grieved if I had altered my opinion; yet it was they who oppoſed it moſt. Arnaud the elder added, on this occaſion, hypocriſy to avarice and ingratitude: meanly as he thought of Jeannin's abilities for the office of ſuperintendant of the finances, for which he looked upon himſelf as much better qualified, he was one of thoſe who ſolicited Conchini moſt earneſtly to procure it for that miniſter, who he flattered himſelf would leave the chief management of it to him.

I penetrated into the inmoſt receſſes of their hearts: I diſcovered views and deſigns which they probably imagined were ſufficiently concealed; but I ſuppreſſed a reſentment unworthy of me; and, taking them aſide one after the other, I gave them ſuch advice as, from the preſent conjuncture of the times, and the knowledge I had of their diſpoſitions, was moſt likely to advance their fortunes: I told the elder Arnaud, that he had it in his power to make his court very ſucceſsfully to the queen, by the great number of excellent memoirs upon the moſt important affairs of the finances, which were lodged in his hands; and, that this ſacrifice might loſe no part of its merit, I adviſed him to offer it by madame de Conchini, ſeriouſly recommending it to him, at the ſame time, to devote himſelf faithfully to her ſervice: I adviſed his brother to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the favour of the chancellor, of Villeroi, Jeannin, and, above all, Cõnchini's, who was the only oracle which it was neceſſary for him to conſult in the exerciſe of his employment; and I deſired the colonel himſelf to make his court to thoſe very perſons.

Duret, beſides all thoſe, might apply himſelf to the commander * and to Dollé; and this I recommended

* Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor.

mended to him to do. Du-Maurier needed only to be made known to Villeroi, by carefully cultivating his friendſhip, which I aſſured him would be ſufficient; and with the knowledge he had of foreign affairs, joined to the talents he poſſeſſed of ſpeaking well, and of writing ſtill better, he might eaſily obtain of the queen and the favourite ſome honourable employment. To Murat, who was accountable for his conduct to the ſecretary of ſtate, I recommended my intereſts at court; but to diſcharge this truſt cautiouſly, and not without firſt aſking Villeroi's conſent. As for La-Clavelle, his ſubtle wit and proneneſs to flattery ſecured him all poſſible ſucceſs with the miniſters, and even with D'Eſcures, who had more power than any body elſe to block up his way in the diſcharge of his office. La-Font's employment ſubjecting him wholly to the queen's will, or rather to Conchini's, he had but one path to follow, which I pointed out to him. The advice I gave to Renouard, was not to ſeek any other recommendation from his own court, except the importance which the force of his underſtanding might give him amongſt his aſſociates; and I deſired he would to this employment add that of taking care of my domeſtic affairs at Paris. Gillot I placed with my ſon, to ſuperintend the affairs of the ordnance; and, that every thing might be kept in the ſame order in which I had left it, I gave to my inferior ſecretaries and clerks ſuch advice as I thought moſt ſuitable to their humbler ſtation, and obliged thoſe who ſhewed moſt reluctance to comply with my meaſures, to confeſs at length, that, in what I had recommended to them, I had a particular view to that neceſſity which ſooner or later would force them to follow the rules I had preſcribed. This I accompanied with a compliment to each, and an obliging command to follow my directions, which had ſuch an appearance of ſincerity, that they yielded to my arguments; and they have not repented. I had no intention, however, to keep no more ſe- 1610.

cretaries

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1610. cretaries in my ſervice; but, being now out of place myſelf, I had no occaſion for men that were in, for this employment. I therefore took two new ſecretaries into my family, whoſe chief buſineſs, in a cabinet no longer occupied with the affairs of ſtate, was collecting and preparing theſe Memoirs for the public.

This done, and burying in eternal oblivion thoſe hopes, deſires, reſentments, and regrets, which any other in my ſituation might have formed, I bid a laſting adieu to the court, and with the ſame indifference as if it had not for ſo long a courſe of years been to me the theatre of glory, wealth, and happineſs *. I loſt at one ſtroke a king who was my benefactor and my ſupport, and with him my fortune, my friends, and my favour. This loſs generally brings along with it ſo many other mortifications, that, to thoſe who have ſuffered it, it appears but the leaſt part of their unhappineſs. If this additional ill fortune is always the effect of particular enmities, certainly no one was more expoſed to them than myſelf; yet hiſtory can furniſh but few examples of miniſters and favourites in diſgrace who were as much honoured and reſpected in their fall as I was; for it ſometimes happens that public eſteem ſucceeds to particular favour in ſupporting thoſe who are unfortunate only, and when it does not form a counterweight ſtrong enough to incline the ballance to their ſide, it is becauſe theſe ſuppoſed oppreſſed perſons have always ſome weak place by which they may be attacked, and which they find it very difficult to defend. Acknowledged probity and innocence will always have the advantage over envy, even at the very time when it ſeems moſt to triumph. My enemies therefore (for I have a right to apply this maxim to myſelf) could ſatisfy but a

* "On Saturday, the 5th of "February, the duke of Sully left "Paris, after returning the grant "he had received of 100,000 "crowns. The ducheſs of Sully "blamed his haughtineſs and "pride in doing ſo." L'Etoile, ib. p. 257.

ſmall

ſmall part of their rage againſt me, becauſe the victory they had gained was one of thoſe ſhameful advantages which it is thought neceſſary to conceal, and which is not enjoyed wholly without remorſe; nor did the ſatisfaction my enemies felt for my diſgrace, hinder ſome true Frenchmen, who eagerly embraced every occaſion of ſhewing their reſpect for the memory of the late king, from honouring a man who expected no more than to ſet out on his exile in privacy and peace. I was attended at my leaving Paris by more than three hundred horſe. 1610.

It was not while I was preſent, and in a condition to defend myſelf, that I expected to ſee my enemies uſe their utmoſt efforts againſt me: envy is a paſſion whoſe characteriſtic is cowardice, no leſs than malice and detraction: I was always perſuaded that they would ſeize eagerly the advantages my abſence afforded them. In effect, a few days were ſcarce elapſed after my arrival at Sully, when the whole court was filled with reports which tended not only to give a bad impreſſion of my conduct in public affairs, but alſo to render me enough ſuſpected to afford them ſome pretence for commencing a proſecution againſt me, the ſhame and grief of which was all they deſired I ſhould ſuffer *. On this occaſion I took ſuch meaſures as I thought every wiſe man ought to take, which was to diſarm envy the moſt effectual way, by preventing, with frequent letters, the minds of their majeſties from being prejudiced to my diſadvantage.

In the firſt, which I addreſſed to the king and queen, I complained that bad deſigns were formed

* "He had no ſooner retired," ſays the Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128, "but many prepared to purſue the victory over him, in order to come in for a ſhare of his ſpoils.—But the queen at laſt, with great reaſon, changed her meaſures, it not being held reaſonable to treat with ill uſage a perſon, whoſe ſervices had been ſo advantageous to France, without any other pretext, than that, by his having been uſeful to the public, he had at the ſame time been ſo to himſelf."

againſt

1610. againſt me: I offered to juſtify my conduct by every method they could propoſe, and even, if neceſſary, by new ſervices: and, after giving their majeſties the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of obedience, fidelity, and innocence, I repreſented to them with ſome freedom, that, if they had been as well perſuaded of that innocence as they had given me room to believe, I ſhould have received proofs of it ere now, by the orders they would have been pleaſed to give for the performances of the ſeveral promiſes they had made me, with reſpect to my places, and to the gratuities which the king had granted me: that the firſt artifice practiſed by my enemies, had been to defer, and afterwards to hinder, if they could, the effect of thoſe promiſes, which, being ſo many proofs of their majeſties good opinion of me, while they ſubſiſted, it was dangerous to attempt any thing againſt me; and it was for this reaſon that I was ſo ſolicitous for their being accompliſhed.

To this letter I received an anſwer from the queen ſuch as I could have wiſhed: She obſerved in it, that my paſt ſervices, and my preſent inclinations, were ſo well known to the king and to her, that it was not in the power of any perſon whatever to alter their ſentiments with reſpect to me: that hitherto ſhe had not perceived it had been attempted; but, if it ſhould, it would be to no purpoſe: ſhe aſſured me it was not owing to any ill-will towards me, but to chance alone, that ſome little difficulties had been found in performing the agreements between his majeſty and me; but that they ſhould be obſerved with the utmoſt exactneſs. This letter is dated March 7, 1611.

It was not long before I ſent the queen another letter, of which I cannot diſpenſe with myſelf from giving the reader ſome account, becauſe what I there declared concerning the ſtate of my private affairs, was exactly conformable to the ſituation I found myſelf in upon my retiring from public buſineſs. I began with recalling to her remembrance the

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the open profeſſion I had always made of attachment to her perſon, and the proofs I had given of it, as well before as ſince her marriage; and here I mentioned certain particular circumſtances, when I drew upon myſelf ſome reproaches from the late king for ſupporting her againſt him on occaſions when I thought I was labouring equally for both their intereſts. This led me to an elogium on the good qualities of the queen regent, on which I founded the opinion I was to appear in this letter to have entertained, that ſhe had no part in the perſecutions raiſed againſt me at court. 1610.

This article I treated at great length, it being that for which the letter was chiefly written. I gave the queen to underſtand that I was well informed of the diſadvantageous reports which were ſpread againſt me in court; of the obſtacles my enemies were inceſſantly raiſing to hinder me from ſettling peaceably my private affairs; and, in a word, of the perquiſites which their majeſties propoſed to allow me in the offices, of which I could not be deprived. I aſſumed a right from the good intentions which I ſuppoſed this princeſs had towards me, founded upon the repeated aſſurances ſhe had given me of her eſteem, to complain to her of thoſe perſons who rendered theſe intentions ineffectual. I inſiſted particularly upon the favour and protection I had reaſon to expect from their majeſties while I was making that diſpoſition of my affairs, to which, for the ſake of peace, I had ſacrificed my intereſt, when it would have been ſo much the eaſier to have diſputed the ground with my adverſaries, as the motives by which they acted being almoſt generally known, I had every advantage over them which I could deſire. I here laid down conciſely the principal points of my management, and my ſhare of that wealth with which, by my labours and œconomy, I had enriched the kingdom till the year 1610, when I ſaw all the meaſures I had taken to keep every thing in the ſame ſtate of order and

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1610. regularity at once overturned and deſtroyed; adding, that time would ſhow whether the kingdom had moſt obligations to my enemies or to me.

I took this opportunity to obviate ſome of their moſt ſpecious accuſations: I repreſented to the queen the great folly and abſurdity they were guilty of in exclaiming againſt me for the vaſt riches they ſaid I had acquired during the courſe of my favour with the late king, when in their hearts they deſpiſed me for not making greater advantages of ſo fair an opportunity, and were fully reſolved not to follow my example. The narrow bounds of a letter would not permit me to ſay all I could in my own juſtification: I only obſerved to the queen, that it was eaſy for me to prove that that wealth, which they imputed to me as a crime, I acquired either by frugality and œconomy, or by the bounty of a maſter too generous and too grateful to leave a miniſter unrewarded who devoted himſelf, with an aſſiduity, rarely ſeen in a ſuperintendant, to continual labours for the public good*: that it was ſufficient for me, that all the gratuities I had received from my maſter were only thoſe which he laid his commands upon me to accept; and this I could prove as clearly as the uſe to which I had applied them, which was more, I believed, than thoſe who were going to ſucceed me would be able to ſay at the cloſe of their adminiſtration. I told the queen that I hoped I ſhould not be charged either with vanity or malice, if I affirmed that the wrong they were now attempting to do me, was a real injury to the ſtate: that I never deſired to be continued in the direction of the finances, but for the king's advantage; and that

*"He retired loaden with riches, "which the time he had been in "the miniſtry had enabled him to "acquire.—It may be ſaid with "great truth, that the firſt years of "his adminiſtration were very pro- "fitable to him; and if any ſhould "ſay the laſt were no leſs ſo, it "muſt be allowed that, if they were "advantageous to him, they were "greatly ſo to the puhlic." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128. One ſingle proof from an enemy, ſuch as the author of this Hiſtory, will counterbalance a thouſand others.

having

having their majeſties for judges of my actions, upon whoſe equity and goodneſs I relied to hinder my enemies from commencing a proſecution againſt me, the privacy I was going to enjoy would no longer appear dangerous to me; but, on the contrary, I ſhould find it ſo much the more pleaſing, as it began now to be ſuitable to my age, and would be interrupted with no reproaches, nor embittered by any remorſe. 1610.

Towards the cloſe of this letter, through which I had occaſionally interſperſed many offers of ſervice, aſſurances of fidelity, and all thoſe expreſſions of reſpect and obedience, which I thought I owed to the queen, I told her, that before I ſet out for my government, whither my affairs called me, I would give her notice of it, and receive her orders; and, if ſhe thought I could be of any uſe to her in the aſſembly of the proteſtants, to which I was ſummoned, I would go thither with the ſame diſpoſition and readineſs to ſerve her as the late king my maſter. Such was the purport of this long letter, which the queen anſwered by another, dated April 24. It was conceived almoſt in the ſame terms as her former letter: ſhe left me at liberty to go to Poitou, or to the aſſembly of the proteſtants, and to act there as I ſhould judge proper, knowing better than any other (thoſe were her words) how I could be moſt uſeful to the king in either of thoſe places.

But what completely ſecured me againſt all reverſes of fortune was, that her majeſty being deſirous to give a public proof of her eſteem for me, and how little it was in the power of my enemies to hurt me, granted me an augmentation of my penſion, for which the brevet was expediated in leſs than a month after the date of her laſt letter. This augmentation was twenty-four thouſand livres; ſo that altogether my penſions at that time amounted to forty-eight thouſand four hundred livres a year. It was expreſſed in the brevet, that this additional penſion commenced on the firſt of January 1611,

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1610. although it was dated the 20th of May; and that her majesty thought herself under an obligation to grant it to me, as well in acknowledgment for my past services, of which the most honourable mention was made, as to enable me to continue them for the future.

Notwithstanding this, I do not think myself dispensed with from proving that article of the foregoing letter, which regards my wealth. A superintendant of the finances, and any man to whom the management of the kingdom's money has been entrusted, is accountable to the public for all his actions; nor would I refuse, if called upon, to lay before it my most secret thoughts, since it has been always my study to regulate them in such a manner, that they would, if known, not only subject me to no censure, for this is an indispensible obligation upon all men, but also that they might in some respect seem worthy to serve for a model to those who, succeeding to my place, would have the same engagements to fulfil. Happy if I could have reason to hope that this model would be effaced with one more perfect. I shall continue therefore to give the public such an exact state of my domestic affairs, following the method I began a few pages above, that any other person may be as well acquainted with them as I am myself. To spare my readers the trouble of collecting together at too great a distance the articles of a broken calculation, and that they may view the whole with one single glance, I shall here lay before them all that has been said on that subject in different parts of these Memoirs, beginning with a faithful account of my whole yearly revenue, according to the order of time when I was invested with those offices, from whence the greatest part of it arose *.

* The following memoir is an unanswerable refutation of a reflection cast on the duke of Sully by the Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, p. 130; and expressed in these words: "In fine, if during his administration, he had managed the "king's affairs well, he had not

I was

I was in the firſt place, while Henry the Great was yet but king of Navarre, preferred to the poſt of firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, together with that of counſellor of Navarre: the ſalaries of both amounted to two thouſand livres a year. When he became king of France, he made me counſellor of ſtate, for which I had a like allowance, which, with a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred livres, increaſed my income with the yearly ſum of five thouſand ſix hundred livres. My company of men at arms brought me in four thouſand livres a year. The king giving me afterwards two brevets, one for counſellor of parliament, without ſalary, and the other for counſellor of the finances, three thouſand ſix hundred livres were on this occaſion added to my penſions. His majeſty having thought proper to fix the gratuities, penſions, gifts, &c. which he deſigned to beſtow upon me as a ſuperintendant of the finances, to a certain ſum, which ſhould be comprehended all in one article, this ſum, which amounted to twenty thouſand crowns, increaſed my revenue with ten thouſand eight hundred livres a year more: add to this the produce of all my other dignities and employments; the office of grand-ſurveyor of the roads of France, and ſurveyor in particular of the iſle of France, brought me in ten thouſand livres a year; that of great-maſter of the ordnance, comprehending the ſalary, profits, and penſions, annexed to it, twenty-four thouſand livres. I always placed under one article the ſums ariſing from the government of Poitou, the ſuperintendance of the buildings, that of the fortifications, ports, &c. which all together amounted to eighteen thouſand livres a year. The government 1610.

" forget to take care of his own. " This appeared more evidently " from his having come into office with only ſix thouſand livres " a year, and going out with more " than a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which had obliged " him to withdraw out of the exchequer the rent-roll and inventory of his eſtate and effects, " which had been regiſtered there, " when he came into the management of the finances, that it might " not appear againſt him, under " his own hand and ſeal, how " much he had enriched himſelf " out of the king's money."

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1610. of Mante and Gergeau brought me in twelve thousand livres; the queen's company of gendarms, of which I was captain-lieutenant, five thousand livres; and the government of the Baſtile two thouſand two hundred livres a year. All theſe articles put together make up the ſum of ninety-ſeven thouſand two hundred livres a year.

Each of theſe articles have been already mentioned in different parts of theſe Memoirs. What remains to be added to them are as follows: Forty-five thouſand livres in church benefices, which his holineſs was ſo well ſatisfied that I ſhould enjoy under the borrowed name of ſome eccleſiaſtics, that he generally expediated the bulls gratis, when he was told that the abbeys were for me. I loſt no part of this income, when it was decreed that the eccleſiaſtics ſhould withdraw all their benefices out of the hands of the proteſtants, becauſe by the Pope's bulls, in which this regulation was expreſſed, the eccleſiaſtics on whom they were beſtowed, were to give the full value of them to the firſt poſſeſſor. My own lands and poſſeſſions compoſe a ſecond article, which I believe I eſtimate juſtly, by making them amount to ſixty thouſand livres a year. Theſe two laſt ſums, added to that of ninety-ſeven thouſand two hundred livres, make a total of two hundred and two thouſand two hundred livres a year.

I ſhall prevent the explanation which may be demanded of me, with reſpect to the article of twenty thouſand crowns in lands; and, in the firſt place, I deſire it may be remembered that there was a kind of agreement made between the king and myſelf in the year 1601, by which that prince, who did not think my labours in his ſervice ſufficiently rewarded by my ordinary gratuities and penſions, and who likewiſe was apprehenſive as well as I that thoſe ſums, which his generoſity led him to give me in extraordinary preſents and gratuities, would produce bad conſequences hereafter, by that appearance of profuſion they might have, again ſettled his

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his gifts and gratuities in a new sum of sixty thou- 1610.
sand livres a year, which was to take in all that I was to expect merely from his bounty. This donation was expediated by letters patent, that, being known to the whole kingdom, I might not be one day subjected to any dishonourable imputation on account of it. I enjoyed this extraordinary gratuity for eight years, which produced me the sum of four hundred and twenty four thousand livres, which I laid out, according to the king's desire, in making acquisitions in proportion. I made the same use of the sum of five hundred and thirty thousand livres arising from the following articles: From money which I have received, but which is subject to be repaid, two hundred thousand livres, on the marriage of my son; a hundred thousand livres which I received with my wife; a hundred thousand paid me by La-Borde; as much by M. Schomberg; and thirty thousand which his majesty gave me for my son D'Orval *. These sums, I say, which added to the above, make one million and ten thousand livres, I laid out in the following manner:

* Francis de Bethune, the founder of the branch of the counts of Orval, was knight of the king's orders, master of the horse to the queen, surveyor-general of France, superintendant of the royal buildings, governor of St. Maixant, camp-master of the regiment of Picardy, lieutenant-general of the king's armies. After the death of Cæsar de Bethune, his brother of the whole blood, who died unmarried, the estates and lordships which the duke of Sully their father had settled upon the children of his second marriage (as we shall relate hereafter) became united in him. They were erected into a duchy and peerage, under the title of de Bethune, which was done in consideration of his signal services to the crown, and particularly in having raised, at his own expence, a considerable body of forces, both foot and horse, at a time when the king stood in great need of them, to carry on the war, in which he was then engaged, with the Spaniards, duke Charles of Lorraine, the prince of Condé, and others of his rebellious subjects. It is in these terms the letters patent for this purpose are expressed, which are dated at Melun in the month of June 1652. The duchy of Sully devolved on this branch of the family, in 1630, on the death of Maximilian, the fifth duke of Sully, in the person of Lewis Peter Maximilian de Bethune, grandson of this Francis count of Orval, to whom it was adjudged by the council of state, he paying the value of it to the abbe Armand de Bethune his great uncle, afterwards count of Orval.

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1610. I purchaſed one half of the eſtate of Roſny with two hundred and ten thouſand livres; the eſtate of Dourdon, which I bought of Sancy, who held it of the Swiſs cantons, coſt me, beſide the money he owed me, a hundred thouſand livres. I had the lands of Sully from the duke de La-Tremouille for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres; and Villebon, by an ordinance, for one hundred thouſand. The three contracts I made with the duke of Nevers amounted to two hundred and ten thouſand livres: namely, for Montrond a hundred thouſand; La-Chapelle fifty-ſix thouſand; and for Henrichemont fifty-four thouſand. I bought the eſtate of Châtelet of the duke of Montpenſier for ſixty thouſand livres; that of Culand, by an ordinance, for eight thouſand; and Des Is, in Beauce, for ſeventy-five thouſand livres. The whole of theſe purchaſes, which amount to eleven hundred and ninety thouſand livres, exceeding, as appears, that of the two ſums received above by a hundred and nine thouſand livres, this ſum will be found charged in the articles of receipt, which are placed after; for I am deſirous of giving the reader full ſatisfaction, by carrying this detail even farther than he has a right to expect, and for this purpoſe I muſt ſtep a little aſide from the ſubject I am treating of, and give an account of the ſeveral ſums I received after the death of Henry the Great, as an equivalent for my charges, in gratuities from the young king, &c. even to the time that I reſolved to diſpoſe of almoſt all the employments with which I had been inveſted.

The three hundred thouſand livres which his majeſty granted me by letters patent, were at once a gift from this prince, and a kind of recompence for the ſuperintendance of the finances, and government of the Baſtile, which I reſigned into his hands. He gave me ſixty thouſand livres for my company of gendarms, for which I had refuſed two hundred thouſand. I agreed with Fourcy to reſign to him the ſuperintendance of the buildings for fifty thouſand

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ſand livres, which was the price ſet upon it by his majeſty: I refuſed to take more. I was offered three hundred thouſand livres for the government of Poitou, which I yielded to Rohan, who obtained the king's conſent that he ſhould purchaſe it for two hundred thouſand. I loſt in the ſame manner a hundred thouſand livres upon the offices of grand-ſurveyor of the roads, and hereditary maſter of the canals and navigation of rivers. The treaſurer of France paid me only a hundred and fifty thouſand for them. His majeſty likewiſe cauſed me to be paid again the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres for the eſtate of Dourdan, and I agreed with the prince of Condé to give him back the lands of Villebon for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which he has ſince paid me. I deſtined theſe two laſt ſums for the portion of my youngeſt daughter, for whom it was more difficult to procure an eſtabliſhment than her eldeſt ſiſter. To theſe ſums I add thoſe which aroſe from the ſale of my benefices; for I thought it was equally allowable for me to take money for them, as for the eccleſiaſtics, by whom they were purchaſed, to give it me; or for the Pope to permit it, as he did, by his bulls. I therefore took, without making any ſcruples, an allowance of eighty thouſand livres of an abbe who was recommended to me by the prince of Condé, for my abbey of Coulon. Bethune, who, as well as his ſon, was the moſt ſcrupulous roman catholic I ever knew, purchaſed, under the ſanction of theſe bulls, the abbey of Jard of me for forty thouſand livres; an abbe, a friend of the duke of Rohan, bought that of L'Or at Poitiers of me for ſeventy thouſand: and L'Argentier Vaucemain, or rather his ſon, that of L'Aoſte for fifty thouſand livres. All theſe ſums together make a total of thirteen hundred thouſand livres. Let us now ſee to what uſe it was applied. 1610.

I bought of M. de Lavardin the eſtate of Montricoux, and that of Cauſſade, from the ſieur Palliers, for

1610. for a hundred and ſixty thouſand livres both. My youngeſt daughter * having, on account of ſome perſonal diſadvantages, as I obſerved before, occaſion for a larger portion than her ſiſter to marry her ſuitable to her birth, I gave with her to M. de Mirepoix four hundred and fifty thouſand livres in ſpecie: the other expences of this marriage, in jewels, furniture, &c. formed an article of fifty thouſand livres more, which in all makes up the ſum of five hundred thouſand livres. I ſhall only ſlightly obſerve here, that ſuch diſtinguiſhing proofs of paternal tenderneſs were repaid both by my daughter and her huſband with the moſt ſtriking inſtances of ingratitude. I lent to ſeveral cities, and to that of Rochelle in particular, more than two hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which, by the ſiege and reduction of this city, and the wars raiſed againſt the proteſtants, I have almoſt wholly loſt. The money I lent, at different times, to the marquis of Roſny, and the debts I paid for him, amount at leaſt to three hundred thouſand livres; the yearly incomes which came to me from Languedoc and Guyenne, by the purchaſe I made of certain regiſtries and rents there, coſt me four hundred thouſand livres; and the houſe I bought in Paris two hundred and twenty thouſand livres. By calculating my accounts of the money I laid out in buildings and other works, in furniture, in journies, and other expences of that kind, I find a capital of ſeven hundred thouſand livres. The ſum total of all theſe ſeveral articles, amounts to two millions five hundred and thirty thouſand livres, which makes it ſuperior to the total of receipt, which precedes it, by twelve hundred and thirty thouſand livres.

The reader may have obſerved, from the beginning of theſe Memoirs, that my application to my

* Louiſa de Bethune. She was married on the 29th of May, 1620, to Alexander de Lévis, marquis of Mirepoix.

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domeſtic œconomy extended itſelf to things which it might be naturally expected would have been excepted from it; I mean in the military profits, ariſing either from priſoners I had taken, from ranſoms, or at the ſacking of towns taken by aſſault, and on other occaſions of the ſame kind, which it is not neceſſary to give a minute account of here. When the peace of Vervins was concluded, I found that theſe profits, which when conſidered ſeparately appear ſo ſlight that they ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned, yet made a total of one hundred thouſand livres, or thereabouts. The war of Savoy, which fell out afterwards, was worth as much more to me in cannon, arms, ammunition, &c. taken from the enemy, of which I had a large portion as great maſter of the ordnance. Of all this I make an article of three hundred thouſand livres. By calculating the value of all thoſe preſents that were made me on different occaſions, I found the whole amount to a ſum nearly equal to the former. It muſt be obſerved, that I mean only ſuch preſents as I received in the character of a public perſon, and in occurrences when it would not have been decent for me to have refuſed them, as in my embaſſies and negotiations; upon the king's marriage, from the queen and the grand-duke; on the marriage of the princeſs Catherine with the duke of Lorrain; on every new-year's day from their majeſties and queen Margaret. It would have been a ridiculous affectation to ſhew myſelf as ſcrupulouſly nice about theſe preſents, and others of the ſame nature, as I did when they were offered to me with intereſted views. However, I would not receive any thing in this manner without its being expreſſed in a brevet, which I entreated his majeſty to grant me for each of theſe gifts, which, tho' in jewels and trinkets, compoſed a ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns. I ſold again the lands of Dourdon for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, before my gratuities were ſettled to twenty 1610.

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1610. twenty thouſand crowns, as I have already mentioned, and which did not happen till the year 1601. The late king liſtening only to the dictates of his own generous mind, and to the friendſhip with which he honoured me, obliged me to accept many other donations which have not been particularized here, and which, I believe, do not amount to leſs than two hundred thouſand livres. Laſtly, ſince my income was become ſo conſiderable as the reader has ſeen, it is not ſurpriſing that by ſtrictly obſerving a maxim, which from my earlieſt years I had laid down as abſolutely neceſſary for the advantage of my domeſtic affairs; namely, that one ought never to ſpend the whole extent of one's income, I ſhould at the end of a certain number of years have laid by a very conſiderable ſum. If we ſuppoſe this ſum to amount to three hundred and fifty thouſand livres, and add it to the four former ones, we ſhall find that it will, within a very little matter, make up the twelve hundred thouſand livres, which is wanting to produce a perfect equality between the receipt and expence. I think it unneceſſary to repeat here what I have formerly ſaid, with reſpect to the current expences of my houſe.

What I am going to relate concerning my tranſactions with the prince of Condé, may appear as a matter of mere curioſity only; but I was not willing to omit it, as it has ſome connection with the ſubject I am on at preſent. When the war broke out againſt the proteſtants under the new reign, the prince of Condé being ſolicitous to remove me from his governments, where I had ſeveral very fine eſtates, and ſome ſtrong caſtles, propoſed to me to ſell them all to him. I was apprehenſive that, if I refuſed to comply with this propoſal, the war would furniſh him with pretences to drive me from thence, which force would have rendered valid. I was ſenſible that his councils had not a little contributed to that reſolution they had lately taken againſt us, and I was

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I was forewarned that he was meditating ſomething worſe with regard to me. I therefore agreed with him for the lands of Villebon, Montrond, Orval, Culand, and Le-Châtelet, and with the greater willingneſs, as he offered me more than they had coſt me, and indeed more than they were worth. Accordingly a contract was ſigned by us both, in which the prince of Condé obliged himſelf to give me twelve hundred thouſand livres for thoſe eſtates: he did not pay me the money down indeed; but I readily conſented to wait till it ſuited his own conveniency. 1610.

However, I did not expect that, at the expiration of a certain time, this prince would find out an eaſy method of diſcharging at once both the principal and intereſt, by demanding of the king that my eſtates ſhould be confiſcated, a practice which the war made then very common. His majeſty was ſo good as to remember me on this occaſion, and rejected with a kind of horror ſo infamous a requeſt. When the peace was concluded, the prince found himſelf obliged to come to an account with me. His inclination for the lands of Baugy increaſing, there was a neceſſity for yielding him that likewiſe, as well as all the others, in order that I might not on any ſide be his neighbour. He took a diſlike to the lands of Villebon, which, together with thoſe of Muret, he reſtored to me as an equivalent for the eſtate which he ſo eagerly coveted. The exchange was not diſadvantageous to me. This method of paying me being moſt convenient for this prince, he made over to me, one after the other, the lands of Nogent, Montigny, Chanrond, Vitrai, the marquiſate of Conty, Breteuil, Francatel, and La-Falaiſe, inveſted with the ſame rights as the lands that I had exchanged, the principal of which, in my eyes, was the liberty of calling them, according to the king's patent, A poſſeſſion which I held by the liberality and immediate grant of the king my

1610. my master. *Thus I got out of the dispute with the prince, who, it must be confessed, was guilty of a double injustice in endeavouring to get possession of my estates by procuring them to be confiscated.

I have been a witness of very miserable times since the death of the king my master. The war which I saw kindled against the protestants, filled me with grief: I was incited by a thousand different

* Amongst the papers containing the proofs of what M. de Sully here relates of his disputes with the prince of Condé, which the present duke of Sully has done me the honour to communicate to me, I find two letters, which it may not be improper to insert here: one is from the prince of Condé to the first duke of Sully; the other from the prince of Conty to the marquis de Bethune (Maximilian Alpinus) Grandfather of the duke of Sully now living.

Letter from the Prince of CONDE to the Duke of SULLY.

"MONSIEUR,

"I hope to have the honour of seeing you soon. The bearer hereof will inform you from whence this comes, and explain the contents of it to you. You will find, from my actions, how much I have at heart the king's service, the public good, and your friendship in particular, which I passionately covet. I beg you will assuredly rely on the truth of these professions. I am preparing, in performance of our mutual engagements, to conclude our bargain for Villebon, and will let you know (begging you will meet me for that purpose) in what place I can have the honour of conversing with you.

I am, Monsieur,
Your cousin, and
most humble servant,
HENRY de BOURBON."

Letter from the Prince of CONTY to the Marquis of BETHUNE.

"MONSIEUR,

"I am extremely pressed by the count of Orval to consent to the agreement he is desirous of making with the viscount of Meaux, for the estate of Chanrond; and he even offers to give me security to indemnify me against the warranty my late father entered into. I would not however make him any promise, after having engaged to your mother-in-law not to do any thing in this affair without acquainting you with it; and, as it is for the benefit of all parties, that this matter should be settled, and made an end of as soon as possible, I am willing to refer my pretensions to the judgment of the count de Bethune your kinsman, and beg you will do so too, and submit to what he shall direct. The count of Orval and the viscount of Meaux are content to submit their claims to him, and abide by his determination. I make no doubt of your consenting to this proposal, as otherwise I shall be obliged to do what is desired of me, and accept of the proposed security. I earnestly beseech you not to make any difficulty of coming into this agreement. In the mean time, I am

Your most affectionate servant,
ARMAND de BOURBON."

Toulouse, 19th of Oct. 1656.

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motives to take part in it; but I courageouſly re- 1610.
ſiſted this ſnare: I never gave the king the leaſt reaſon to look upon me as a rebel, or an abetter of rebels. I have punctually obeyed all his majeſty's commands; am always ready to preſent myſelf at court whenever he is pleaſed to require it: in a word, I have had the good fortune to continue as faithful in the performance of thoſe promiſes I made to the king my benefactor, as in that of the duties of a good citizen.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXX.

Wherein is diſcuſſed the POLITICAL SCHEME, Commonly called

The Great Deſign of HENRY IV.

AS this part of theſe Memoirs will be chiefly taken up with an account of the great deſign of Henry IV. or the political ſcheme, by which he propoſed to govern, not only France, but all Europe; it may not be improper to begin it with ſome more general reflections on this monarchy, and on the Roman empire, upon whoſe ruins we know it has been formed, as well as all the other powers which at this day compoſe the chriſtian world.

If we conſider all thoſe ſucceſſive changes which Rome has ſuffered from the year of the world 3064, which is that of its foundation *, its infancy, youth, and virility; its declenſion, fall, and final ruin; theſe viciſſitudes, which it experienced in common with the great monarchies by which it was preceded,

* The opinion now moſt generally received is that of Varro, who places the time of the foundation of Rome near 200 years later.

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would almoſt incline one to believe, that empires, like all other ſublunary things, are ſubject to be the ſport, and at laſt ſink under the preſſure of time. And if we extend this idea ſtill further, we ſhall perhaps perceive, that they are all liable to be diſturbed or interrupted in their courſes, by certain extraordinary incidents; which, for any thing that we can diſcover to the contrary, may be termed epidemical diſtempers, that very frequently precipitate their deſtruction; and their cure by this diſcovery becoming eaſier, we may at leaſt recover ſome of them from thoſe criſis's which threaten their deſtruction.

But if we endeavour to diſcover more viſible and natural cauſes of the ruin of this vaſt and formidable empire, we ſhall perhaps ſoon perceive they were produced by a deviation from thoſe wiſe laws, and that ſimplicity of manners, which were the original of all its grandeur, into luxury, avarice, and ambition; yet there was, finally, another cauſe, the effect of which could hardly have been prevented or foreſeen by the utmoſt human wiſdom; I mean, the irruptions of thoſe vaſt bodies of barbarous people, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, &c. from whom, both ſeparately and united, the Roman empire received ſuch violent ſhocks, that it was at laſt overthrown by them: Rome was three times ſacked by theſe Barbarians *; in 414, under Honorius, by Alaric, chief of the Goths; in 455, by Genſeric, king of the Vandals, under Martian; and in 546, under Juſtinian, by Totila and the Goths. Now if it be true, that after this, the city retained the ſhadow of what ſhe had been, if we muſt regard her as diveſted of the empire of the world, when her weakneſs and the abuſes of her government made this event to be looked upon, not ſimply as inevitable, but as very near, and, in fact,

* Theſe three epochas are not quite juſt; the firſt was in 410, inſtead of 414; the ſecond in 455, or 456; and the third in 524, under Tegas, ſucceſſor of Totila, and the laſt king of the Goths: the ſacking the city this laſt time laſted forty days.

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already arrived; the epocha of her fall may then be marked long before the reign of Valentine III. to whom it will be doing a favour, to call him the laſt emperor of the Eaſt*; for ſeveral of thoſe emperors whom he ſucceeded, were, in reality, no better than tyrants, by whom the empire was torn and divided, and the ſhattered remnants left to be the ſpoil of the Barbarians, who, indeed, by their conqueſts, acquired an equal right to them.

Rome, nevertheleſs, by intervals, beheld ſome faint appearances of a revival; thoſe of which ſhe was moſt ſenſible were under the reign of the great Conſtantine, whoſe victories once more united this vaſt body under one head; but when he tranſported the ſeat of his empire from Rome to Conſtantinople, he, by that ſtep, without being ſenſible of it, contributed more to the deſtruction of a work which had coſt him ſo much labour, than all the ill conduct of his predeceſſors had been able to effect; and this even he rendered irremediable, by dividing his empire equally between his three ſons. Theodoſius, who by good fortune, or from an effect of his great valour, found himſelf in the ſame circumſtances with Conſtantine, would not perhaps have committed the ſame fault, had he not been influenced by the force of Conſtantine's example; but this, in a manner, neceſſarily obliged him to divide his empire in two; Arcadius had the Eaſt, Honorius the Weſt: and from that time there never was any hopes nor opportunity of reuniting them.

According to the order of nature, by which the deſtruction of one king becomes the inſtrument for the production of others; ſo, in proportion, as the moſt diſtant members of the empire of the Eaſt fell off from it, from thence there aroſe kingdoms;

* It would be unjuſt, ſurely, to refuſe the title of emperors of the Eaſt to Valentinian III. to Honorius, &c. The expreſſions here uſed by our author ſhould not be underſtood in their moſt rigorous ſenſe, but only as meaning an empire weakened, and approaching to its final deſtruction.

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though indeed they did not at firſt bear that rank. The moſt ancient of theſe (its origin appearing to have been in the eighth year of the empire of Honorius) is, undoubtedly, that which was founded in Gaul by the French, ſo called from Franconia, from whence they were invited by the Gauls, who inhabited the countries about the Moſelle, to aſſiſt them in their deliverance from the oppreſſion of the Roman armies. It being a cuſtom among theſe Franks, or French, to confer the title of king upon whatever perſon they choſe to be their leader; if the firſt or ſecond of theſe chiefs have not borne it, it is certain, at leaſt, that the third, which was Merovius, and more particularly Clavius, who was the fifth, were inveſted with it*, and ſome of them ſupported it with ſo much glory; among others, Pepin and Charles Martel, to whom it would be doing an injuſtice to refuſe them this dignity; that their worthy ſucceſſor Charlemagne, revived in Gaul an imperfect image of the now extinguiſhed empire in the Eaſt: this indeed was facilitated by thoſe natural advantages France enjoys of numerous inhabitants trained to war; and a great plenty of all things ſerving the different neceſſities of life, joined to a very great conveniency for commerce, ariſing from its ſituation, which renders it the center of four of the principal powers of Europe; Germany, Italy, Spain, and Britain, with the Low Countries.

* The whole of what is here ſaid, may be allowed to be right: according to Petau and Sirmond, the chiefs of the French bore the title of kings from the reign of Valentinian II. which was long before the year 445, when Claudian, by the taking of Cambray, &c. firſt eſtabliſhed himſelf on this ſide of the Rhine. They firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves on the other ſide of the Rhine, about the middle of the third century, and extended themſelves, nearly from the Texel, as far as Francfort. This revolt of a part of Gaul againſt the Romans, happened in 434, in the twelfth year of the reign of Valentinian III. and the author's opinion on the eſtabliſhment of the French in Gaul, is confirmed by a learned academic, who has cleard up this critical point as much as it was poſſible (the late abbé Du-Bois). Hiſt. Crit. de l'etab. de la monarchie Franç. dans la Gaules. Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. 17. liv. ii. ch. 7, 8.

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Let us here juſt ſay one word upon the three races which compoſe the ſucceſſion of our kings: in the firſt of them I find only Merovius, Clovis I. and Clovis II. Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, and Charlemagne, in the ſecond, who have raiſed themſelves above the common level of their race. Take away theſe ſix from the thirty-five, which we compute in theſe two races, and all the reſt, from their vices or their incapacity, appear to have been either wicked kings, or but the ſhadow of kings; though among them we may diſtinguiſh ſome good qualities in Sigibert and Dagobert, and a very great devotion in Lewis le Debonnaire, which, however, ended in his repenting the loſs of empire and his kingdom, together with his liberty, in a cloiſter.

The Carlovingian race having reigned obſcurely, and ended ſo too, the crown then deſcended upon a third; the four firſt kings of which, in my opinion, appear to have been perfect models of wiſe and good government. The kingdom which came under their dominion had loſt much of its original ſplendor, for from its immenſe extent in the time of Charlemagne, it was reduced to very near the ſame bounds which it has at this day; with this difference, that though they might have been deſirous to reſtore its antient limits, the form of the government, which rendered the kings ſubject to the great men and people of the kingdom, who had a right to chuſe, and even to govern their ſovereigns, left them no means by which they could ſucceed in ſuch an attempt. The conduct, therefore, which they purſued was, to condemn arbitrary power to an abſolute ſilence; and, in its place, to ſubſtitute equity itſelf: a kind of dominion which never excites envy. Nothing now was done without the conſent of the great men and the principal cities, and almoſt always in conſequence of the deciſion of an aſſembly of the ſtates. A conduct ſo moderate and prudent put an end to all factions, and ſtifled all conſpiracies, which are fatal to the ſtate or the ſovereign. Regularity, œconomy,

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œconomy, a diſtinction of merit, ſtrict obſervance of juſtice, all the virtues which we ſuppoſe neceſſary qualifications for the good of a family, were what characterized this new government, and produced what was never before beheld, and what perhaps we may never ſee again, an uninterrupted peace for one hundred twenty-two years: what theſe princes gained by it for themſelves in particular, and which all the authority of the Salic law could never have procured them, was, the advantage of introducing into this houſe an hereditary right to the crown. But they, nevertheleſs, thought it a neceſſary precaution, not to declare their eldeſt ſons their ſucceſſors till they had modeſtly aſked the conſent of the people, preceded it by a kind of election, and uſually by having them crowned in their own life-time, and ſeated with them upon the throne.

Philip II. whom Lewis VII. his father, cauſed to be crowned, and reign with him in this manner, was the firſt who neglected to obſerve this ceremony between the ſovereign and his people: ſeveral victories, obtained over his neighbours and over his own ſubjects, which gained him the ſurname of Auguſtus, ſerved to open him a paſſage to abſolute power; and a notion of the fitneſs and legality of this power, by the aſſiſtance of favourites, miniſters, and others, became afterwards ſo ſtrongly imprinted in his ſucceſſors, that they looked upon it as a mark of the moſt profound good policy, to act contrary to thoſe maxims, the general and particular utility of which had been ſo effectually confirmed by experience. And this they did without any fear, or perhaps without any conception of the fatal conſequences which ſuch a proceeding, againſt a nation that adored its liberty, might, and even neceſſarily would incur; of which they might eaſily have become ſenſible, from the means to which the people had immediate recourſe, to ſhake off the yoke of tyranny with which they ſaw themſelves menaced. The kings could never obtain of their people any

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other than that kind of conſtrained obedience, which always inclines them to embrace with eagerneſs, all opportunities of mutiny. This was the ſource of a thouſand bloody wars: that by which almoſt all France was ravaged by the Engliſh; that which we had with Italy, Burgundy, Spain; all of them can be attributed to no other cauſes, than the civil diſſentions by which they were preceded: and here the weakeſt ſide, ſtifling the voice of honour, and the intereſt of the nation, conſtantly called in foreigners to aſſiſt them in the ſupport of their tottering liberties. Theſe were ſhameful and fatal remedies; but from that time they were conſtantly employed, down even to our days, by the houſe of Lorrain, in a league, for which religion was nothing more than the pretence. Another evil, which may at firſt appear to be of a different kind, but which, in my opinion, proceeds from the ſame ſource, was a general corruption of manners, a thirſt for riches, and a moſt ſhameful degree of luxury: theſe, ſometimes ſeparately, and ſometimes united, were alternate cauſes and effects of many of our miſeries.

Thus, in a few words, I have expoſed the various ſpecies of our bad policy, with reſpect both to the form of the government, ſucceſſively ſubjected to the will of the people, the ſoldiers, the nobles, the ſtates, and the kings; and in regard to the perſons likewiſe of theſe laſt, whether dependant, elective, hereditary, or abſolute.

From the picture here laid before us, we may be enabled to form our judgment upon the third race of our kings: we may find a thouſand things to admire in Philip Auguſtus, Saint-Lewis, Philip le Bel, Charles le Sage, Charles VII. and Lewis XII. But it is to be lamented, that ſo many virtues, or great qualities, have been exerciſed upon no better principles; with what pleaſure might we beſtow upon them the titles of great kings,

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kings, could we but conceal that their people were miſerable: what might we not, in particular, ſay of Lewis IX? of the forty-four years which he reigned, the firſt twenty of them exhibits a ſcene not unworthy to be compared with the eleven laſt of Henry the Great. But I am afraid all their glory will appear to have been deſtroyed in the twenty-four following; wherein it appears, that the exceſſive taxes upon the ſubjects, to ſatisfy an ill-judged and deſtructive devotion; immenſe ſums tranſported into the moſt diſtant countries, for the ranſom of priſoners; ſo many thouſand ſubjects ſacrificed; ſo many illuſtrious houſes extinguiſhed; cauſed a univerſal mourning throughout France, and all together a general calamity.

Let us for once, if it is poſſible, fix our principles; and being, from long experience, convinced, that the happineſs of mankind can never ariſe from war, of which we ought to have been perſuaded long ago; let us, upon this principle, take a curſory view of the hiſtory of our monarchy. We will paſs by the wars of Clovis and his predeceſſors, becauſe they ſeem to have been, in ſome degree, neceſſary to confirm the recent foundations of the monarchy: but what ſhall we ſay of thoſe wars, in which the four ſons of Clovis, the four ſons of Clotaire I. and their deſcendants, were engaged, during the uninterrupted courſe of one hundred and ſixty years? and of thoſe alſo, by which, for the ſpace of one hundred ſeventy-two other years, commencing with Lewis le Debonnaire, the kingdom was harraſſed and torn? What follows is ſtill worſe: The ſlighteſt knowledge of our hiſtory is ſufficient to convince any one, that there was no real tranquillity in the kingdom from Henry VIII. to the peace of Vervins: and, in ſhort, all this long period may be called a war of near four hundred years duration. After this examination, from whence it inconteſtibly appears, that our kings have ſeldom thought of any thing but how to carry on their wars, we cannot

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but be ſcrupulous in beſtowing on them the title of, Truly Great kings; though we ſhall, nevertheleſs, render them all the juſtice which appears to have been their due: for I confeſs (as indeed it would be unjuſt to attribute to them only, a crime which was properly that of all Europe) that ſeveral of theſe princes were ſometimes in ſuch circumſtances as rendered the wars juſt, and even neceſſary; and from hence, when indeed there were no other means to obtain it, they acquired a true and laſting glory. For herein, from the manner in which ſeveral of theſe wars were foreſeen, prepared for, and conducted, we may in their councils diſcover ſuch maſter-ſtrokes of policy, and in their perſons ſuch noble inſtances of courage, as are deſerving of our higheſt praiſes. From whence then can proceed the error of ſo many exploits, in appearance ſo glorious, though the effect of them has generally been the devaſtation both of France and all Europe? I repeat it again, of all Europe, which even yet ſeems ſcarce ſenſible, that in her preſent ſituation, a ſituation in which ſhe has been, for ſeveral centuries, every attempt which ſhall tend to her ſubjection, or only to the too conſiderably augmenting of any one of her principal monarchies, at the expence of the others, can never be any other than a chimerical and impoſſible enterpriſe. There are none of theſe monarchies, but whoſe deſtruction will require a concurrence of cauſes infinitely ſuperior to all human force. The whole, therefore, of what ſeems proper and neceſſary to be done, is to ſupport them all in a kind of equilibrium; and whatever prince thinks, and in conſequence acts otherwiſe, may indeed cauſe torrents of blood to flow through all Europe, but he will never be able to change her form.

When I obſerved, that the extent of France is not now ſo conſiderable as it was in the time of Charlemagne, my intention, moſt certainly, was not, that this diminution ſhould be conſidered as a misfortune. In an age when we feel the ſad effects

of having had ambitious princes, from time to time, for our kings, were all to concur in flattering this fatal ambition, it would be the cauſe of ſtill greater evils; and it may be generally obſerved, that the larger the extent of kingdoms, the more they are ſubject to great revolutions and misfortunes. The baſis of the tranquillity of our own, in particular, depends upon preſerving it within its preſent limits. A climate, laws, manners, and language, different from our own; ſeas, and chains of mountains almoſt inacceſſible, are all ſo many barriers, which we may conſider as fixed even by nature. Beſides, what is it that France wants? will ſhe not always be the richeſt and moſt powerful kingdom in Europe? It muſt be granted. All therefore which the French have to wiſh or deſire is, that heaven grant them pious, good, and wiſe kings; and that theſe kings may employ their power in preſerving the peace of Europe; for no other enterprize can truly be to them either profitable or ſucceſsful.

And this explains to us the nature of the deſign which Henry IV. was on the point of putting in execution, when it pleaſed God to take him to himſelf, too ſoon by ſome years for the happineſs of the world. From hence likewiſe we may perceive the motives for his purſuing a conduct ſo oppoſite to any thing that had hitherto been undertaken by crowned heads; and here we may behold what it was that acquired him the title of Great. His deſigns were not inſpired by a mean and deſpicable ambition, nor guided by baſe and partial intereſts: to render France happy for ever was his deſire; and as ſhe cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity, unleſs all Europe likewiſe partakes of it; ſo it was the happineſs of Europe in general which he laboured to procure, and this in a manner ſo ſolid and durable, that nothing ſhould afterwards be able to ſhake its foundations.

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I muſt confeſs I am under ſome apprehenſions, leſt this ſcheme* ſhould at firſt be conſidered as one

* The Memoirs of Sully are the only monument which has preſerved to poſterity an account of the great deſign of Henry IV. We find no traces of it in any of the hiſtorians, authors of memoirs, or other writers, that were cotemporary with that prince; their ſilence in this matter proceeded, no doubt, from their not knowing enough of it to ſay any thing with certainty about it. The world did not begin to deſcant upon it till the *Memoirs of Sully*, wherein it is ſo clearly deſcribed, were publiſhed; and among all thoſe who have conſidered it ever ſince about the middle of the ſeventeenth century, I find ſcarce any who have queſtioned the poſſibility of executing it; doubtleſs, becauſe they lived near enough to the times in which it was formed, to be convinced, even from the mouths of thoſe who had been witneſſes of the preparations and diſpoſitions which were made, that all the meaſures had been taken preciſely in the ſame manner as related by the duke of Sully; and conſequently, that it would have had but few of thoſe obſtacles to encounter which have ſince been raiſed againſt it.

The author of a manuſcript diſcourſe in the king's library, which to me appears to be the moſt antient memoir we have of that time, ſeems not in the leaſt to have doubted of ſucceſs in its execution. And M. de Perefixe, who in the third part of his hiſtory of Henry the Great, has given a ſhort but very accurate account of the ſcheme, ſays poſitively that it would have ſucceeded; and farther confirms his aſſertion by proofs, which he gives, p. 388, and the following. The continuator of Thuanus, in what little he has ſaid of it, anno 1609 and 1610, does not appear to have been of a different ſentiment. The marechal de Baſſompierre alſo, in his Journal, tom. I. ſeems to be in its favour. To theſe authorities we may alſo join that of the author of the life of the duke d'Epernon, and ſome others, who all ſeem to be of the ſame opinion. Indeed, till the beginning of the preſent century, all authors appear to have been unanimous in this point; and ſeveral of our modern hiſtorians have joined them herein.

Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. tom. I. p. 29, 514. tom. II. p. 45, &c.) is the firſt that I know by whom this great enterprize has been treated as abſurd and impoſſible: but the ignorance which he ſhews in the whole affair, even in thoſe points which are the leaſt conteſted; his attachment to the Spaniſh politics, and his diſtance from the perſons of Henry IV. and his miniſter, which is every way apparent in all he ſays on the ſubject, render him, in this reſpect, very juſtly exceptionable his ſentiments have been adopted, by the author of the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 44. and for a ſimilar reaſon of attachment to the queen, mother of Lewis XIII. But this writer, ſuch as he is, producing no better authority for his opinion, than the age of Henry IV. who was then near ſixty, appears alſo to have been ſo entirely unacquainted with the affair, that we may, without ſcruple, pronounce, he was ignorant of the diſpoſition which had been made for the complete execution of it within the ſpace of three years, and that he condemns the deſign without underſtanding it.

I have much greater reverence for the authority of ſome modern politicians, who conſider it as a kind of impoſſibility, thus to change the face of all Europe, in the manner propoſed by Henry IV. and who imagine, that in our days a much more happy expedient has been diſcovered, whereby to obtain the

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of thoſe darling chimeras, or idle political ſpeculations, in which a mind ſuſceptible of ſtrange and ſingular ideas, may be ſo eaſily engaged: thoſe who ſhall thus think of it, muſt be of that ſort of people on whom the firſt impreſſions upon a prejudiced imagination, have the force of truth; or thoſe, who by their diſtance from the times, and their ignorance of the circumſtances, confound the wiſeſt and nobleſt enterpriſes that have ever been formed, with thoſe chimerical projects which princes, intoxicated with their power, have in all ages amuſed

equilibrium of Europe, than by reviving the antient council of the Amphyctions: what I mean, is the precaution now obſerved, of having all the principal powers of Europe accede to, and become the guarantees of every particular treaty. But all thoſe calamities which we have ſuffered in conſequence of war, do but too plainly evince its inſufficiency. In regard to the main ſtreſs of the queſtion, I agree with them, that Europe could not now, but with great difficulty, be conſtituted in the manner propoſed by Henry the Great: nevertheleſs I believe, without pretending to ſubject any one to my opinion, that thoſe who treat this prince's deſign as a chimera, do not pay all the neceſſary attention to the circumſtances of thoſe times, wherein Europe, from her frequent dangers of being ſubjected to the houſe of Auſtria, and by the bloody wars which a difference of religion had excited, and continued daily to excite, found herſelf in a manner compelled to have recourſe to extraordinary means to put a period to her miſeries.

I cannot finiſh this remark better, than in the words of M. L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, in his Diſcours ſur le Grand Homme: "From hence "we may perceive, that if Henry "IV. king of France, had executed "his celebrated and well-projected "deſign, whereby to render peace "perpetual and univerſal among "the ſovereigns of Europe, he "would have procured the greateſt "benefit that it was poſſible, not "only to his own ſubjects, but to "all the chriſtian kingdoms; and "even, by a neceſſary conſequence, "to the world in general: a benefit "of which all generations, preſent "and to come, would have par-"ticipated down to the lateſt time; "a benefit, by which we ſhould "have been exempted from thoſe "terrible and numerous evils, "which are the effects of foreign "and domeſtic wars; a benefit, "which would have been the "ſource of all thoſe ſweets which "naturally flow from an uninter-"rupted and univerſal tranquil-"lity: if, I ſay, he had been ſo happy "as to have executed this great "deſign, it would have rendered "him, beyond all compariſon, the "greateſt man the world ever has, "or probably ever will produce." After ſome farther reflections upon the means ſtill more practicable, this judicious author adds: "This "prince, however, has always had "the honour of being conſidered "as the author of the moſt impor-"tant invention, and moſt uſeful "diſcovery, for the benefit of "mankind, that has yet appeared "in the world; the execution of "which may, perhaps, be reſerved "by providence, for the greateſt "and moſt capable of his ſuc-"ceſſors."

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themſelves in forming, I confeſs, that if we attentively examine the deſigns which have been planned from motives of vanity, confidence in good fortune, ignorance, nay, from ſloth, and even timidity itſelf, we muſt be ſurpriſed to behold ſovereigns plunged blindly into ſchemes, ſpecious perhaps in appearance, but which at bottom have not the leaſt degree of poſſibility. The mind of man, with ſo much complacency, nay, even with ſo much ardour, purſues whatever it fancies great or beautiful, that it is ſorry to be made ſenſible, that theſe objects have frequently nothing real or ſolid in them. But in this, as well as in other things, there is an oppoſite extreme to be avoided; which is, that as we uſually fail in the execution of great deſigns, from not commencing and continuing them with ſufficient vigour and ſpirit; ſo likewiſe we are defective in the knowledge of their true worth and tendency, becauſe we do not thoroughly and properly conſider them in all their dependencies and conſequences. I have myſelf been more difficult to perſuade in this matter, than perhaps any of thoſe who ſhall read theſe Memoirs; and this I conſider as an effect of that cold, cautious, and unenterprizing temper, which makes ſo conſiderable a part of my character.

I remember the firſt time the king ſpoke to me of a political ſyſtem, by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one great family, I ſcarce paid any attention to what he ſaid, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to divert himſelf, or perhaps to ſhew, that his thoughts on political ſubjects were greater, and penetrated deeper, than moſt others: my reply was a mixture of pleaſantry and compliment. Henry ſaid no more at that time. He often confeſſed to me afterwards, that he had long concealed from me what he meditated on this ſubject, from a principle of ſhame, which many labour under, leſt they ſhould diſcloſe deſigns which might appear ridiculous or impoſſible. I was aſtoniſhed when, ſome time after, he renewed

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our converſation on this head, and continued from year to year, to entertain me with new regulations and new improvements in his ſcheme.

I had been very far from thinking ſeriouſly about it. If by accident it came into my thoughts for a moment, the firſt view of the deſign, which ſuppoſed a re-union of all the different ſtates of Europe; immenſe expences, at a time when France could ſcarce ſupply her own neceſſities; a concatenation of events which to me appeared infinite: theſe were conſiderations which had always made me reject the thought as vain; I even apprehended there was ſome illuſion in it: I recollected ſome of thoſe enterprizes in which we had endeavoured to engage Europe. I conſidered thoſe in particular which had been formed by ſome of our kings, from much leſs conſiderable motives; and I felt myſelf diſguſted with this, from the bad ſucceſs of all the former. The diſpoſition of the princes of Europe to take umbrage againſt France, when ſhe would have aſſiſted them to diſſipate their fears from the too great power of Spain, this alone to me appeared an inſurmountable obſtacle.

Strongly prejudiced by this opinion, I uſed my utmoſt efforts to undeceive Henry, who, on his ſide, ſurpriſed not to find me of his ſentiment in any one point, immediately undertook and readily ſucceeded in convincing me, that my thus indiſcriminately condemning all parts of his project, in which he was certain that every thing at leaſt was not blameable, could proceed from nothing but ſtrong prejudices. I could not refuſe, at his ſolicitations, to uſe my endeavours to gain a thorough comprehenſion of it: I formed a clearer plan of it in my mind: I collected and united all its different branches: I ſtudied all its proportions and dimenſions, if I may ſay ſo; and I diſcovered in them a regularity and mutual dependance, of which, when I only conſidered the deſign in a confuſed and careleſs manner, I had not been at all ſenſible. The benefit which

which would manifeſtly ariſe from it to all Europe, was what moſt immediately ſtruck me, as being in effect the plaineſt and moſt evident; but the means to effect ſo good a deſign were, therefore, what I heſitated at the longeſt. The general ſituation of the affairs of Europe, and of our own in particular, appeared to me every way contrary to the execution: I did not conſider that, as the execution of it might be deferred till a proper opportunity, we had all thoſe reſources whereby to prepare ourſelves, which time affords thoſe who know how to make the beſt uſe of it. I was at laſt convinced, that however diſproportionate the means might appear to the effect, a courſe of years, during which every thing ſhould as much as poſſible be made ſubſervient to the great object in view, would ſurmount many difficulties. It is indeed ſomewhat extraordinary, that this point, which appeared to be, and really was, the moſt difficult of any, ſhould at laſt become the moſt eaſy.

Having thus ſeen all parts of the deſign in their juſt points of view, having thoroughly conſidered and calculated, and from thence diſcovered and prepared for all events which might happen, I found myſelf confirmed in the opinion, that the deſign of Henry the Great was, upon the whole, juſt in its intention, poſſible, and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects: ſo that, upon all occaſions, I was the firſt to recal the king to his engagements, and ſometimes to convince him by thoſe very arguments which he himſelf had taught me.

The conſtant attention this prince paid to all affairs tranſacted round him, from an effect of thoſe ſingularly unhappy circumſtances, by which, in almoſt every inſtant of his life, he found himſelf embarraſſed, had been the cauſe of his forming this deſign, even from the time when, being called to the crown by the death of Henry III. he conſidered the humbling of the houſe of Auſtria as what

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what was absolutely necessary for his security; yet, if he was not beholden to Elizabeth * for his thought of the design, it is, however, certain that this great queen had herself conceived it long before, as a means to revenge Europe for the attempts of its common enemy. The troubles in which all the following years were engaged, the war which succeeded in 1595, and that against Savoy after the peace of Vervins, forced Henry into difficulties which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of other affairs; and it was not till after his marriage, and the firm re-establishment of peace, that he renewed his thoughts upon his first design, to execute which, appeared then more impossible, or at least more improbable, than ever.

He, nevertheless, communicated it by letters to Elizabeth, and this was what inspired them with so strong an inclination to confer together in 1601, when this princess came to Dover, and Henry to Calais. What the ceremony of an interview would not have permitted them to do, I at last begun by the voyage which I made to this princess. I found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great design might be successfully executed; and, notwithstanding the difficulties which she apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions, and the equality of the

* The present duke of Sully is possessed of the original of an excellent letter of Henry the Great, supposed to have been wrote by him to queen Elizabeth, though this princess is not named, neither in the body of the letter, nor in the superscription, which is in these words: *To her who merits immortal praise.* The terms in which Henry herein speaks of a certain political project, which he calls, *The most excellent and rare enterprize that ever the human mind conceived—a thought rather divine than human*; the praises which he bestows upon *this discourse so well connected and demonstrative of what would be necessary for the government of empires and kingdoms*—on those *conceptions and resolutions* from which nothing less may be hoped than *most remarkable issues both of honour and glory.* All these passages can relate to none but Elizabeth, nor mean any other than the great design in question, concerning which it from hence evidently appears, that the queen of England had by letters disclosed her thoughts to Henry. The letter from which these extracts are taken, is dated from Paris, the 11th of July; but without the date of the year. Lettres de Henry le Grand.

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powers, she did not to me appear at all to doubt of its success, which she chiefly expected, for a reason, the justness of which I have since been well convinced of; and this was, that, as the plan was really only contrary to the design of some princes, whose ambitious views were sufficiently known to all Europe, this difficulty, from which the necessity of the design more evidently appeared, would rather promote than retard its success. She farther said, that its execution by any other means than that of arms, would be very desirable, as this has always something odious in it: but she confessed, that indeed it would be hardly possible to begin it any otherwise. A very great number of the articles, conditions, and different dispositions, is due to this queen; and sufficiently shew, that in respect of wisdom, penetration, and all the other perfections of the mind, she was not inferior to any king, the most truly deserving of that title.

It must indeed be considered as a very great misfortune, that Henry could not at this time second the intentions of the queen of England, who wished to have the design put in immediate execution; but when he thus laid the foundation of the edifice, he scarce hoped to see the time when the finishing hand would be put to it. The recovery of his own kingdom from the various maladies by which it was afflicted, was a work of several years; and unhappily he had himself seen forty-eight when he began it: he pursued it, nevertheless, with the greatest vigour. The edict of Nantz had been published with this view, and every other means was used which might gain the respect and confidence of the princes of Europe. Henry and I, at the same time, applied ourselves with indefatigable labour to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom. We considered the death of the king of Spain as the most favourable event that could happen to our design; but it received so violent a shock by the death of Elizabeth, as had like to have made us abandon all our hopes.

Henry

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Henry had no expectation that the powers of the north, nor king James, the ſucceſſor of Elizabeth, when he was acquainted with his character, would any of them ſo readily conſent to ſupport him in his deſign, as this princeſs had done. However, the new allies which he daily gained in Germany, and even in Italy, comforted him a little for the loſs of Elizabeth. The truce between Spain and the Low Countries may alſo be numbered among incidents favourable to it.

Yet, if we conſider all the obſtacles which afterwards aroſe in his own kingdom, from the proteſtants, the catholics, the clergy, nay even from his own council, it will appear as if all things conſpired againſt it. Could it be imagined that Henry, in his whole council, ſhould not find one perſon, beſides myſelf, to whom he could, without danger, diſcloſe the whole of his deſigns? and that the reſpect due to him, could ſcarce reſtrain thoſe who appeared moſt devoted to his ſervice, from treating what, with the greateſt circumſpection, he had entruſted them with, as wild and extravagant chimeras? But nothing diſcouraged Henry, who was an abler politician and a better judge than all his council, and than all his kingdom, when he perceived that, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, affairs began, both at home and abroad, to appear in a favourable ſituation, he then conſidered the ſucceſs as infallible.

Nor will this his judgment, when thorougly conſidered, be found ſo preſumptuous as, from a ſlight examination, it may appear to ſome. For what did he hereby require of Europe? Nothing more than that it ſhould promote the means by which he propoſed to fix it in the poſition, towards which, by his efforts, it for ſome time had tended. Theſe means he rendered ſo eaſy to execute, that it would ſcarce require what many of the princes of Europe would voluntarily ſacrifice, for advantages much leſs real, leſs certain, and leſs durable. What they would gain by it, beſides the ineſtimable benefits

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ariſing from peace, would greatly exceed all the expences they would be at. What reaſon then could any of them have to oppoſe it? and, if they did not oppoſe it, how could the houſe of Auſtria ſupport itſelf againſt powers, in whom the deſire and pleaſure of depriving it of that ſtrength which it had uſed only to oppreſs them, would have raiſed againſt it as many open as it had ſecret enemies? that is all Europe entire? Nor would theſe princes have any reaſon to be jealous of the reſtorer of their liberty; for he was ſo far from ſeeking to re-imburſe himſelf for all the expences which his generoſity would hereby engage him in, that his intention was voluntarily and for ever to relinquiſh all power of augmenting his dominions; not only by conqueſt, but by all other juſt and lawful means. By this he would have diſcovered the ſecret to convince all his neighbours that his whole deſign was to ſave, both himſelf and them, thoſe immenſe ſums which the maintenance of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers, ſo many fortified places, and ſo many military expences require; to free them for ever from the fear of thoſe bloody cataſtrophes ſo common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repoſe; and, finally, to unite them all in an indiſſoluble bond of ſecurity and friendſhip, after which they might live together like brethren, and reciprocally viſit like good neighbours, without the trouble of ceremony, and without the expence of a train of attendants, which princes uſe at beſt only for oſtentation, and frequently to conceal their miſery. Does it not indeed reflect ſhame and reproach on a people who affect to be ſo poliſhed and refined in their manners, that all their pretended improvements have not yet (I will not ſay procured them tranquillity, but only) guarded them from theſe barbarities which they deteſt in nations the moſt ſavage and uncultivated? and to deſtroy theſe pernicious ſeeds of confuſion and diſorder, and to prevent the barbarities of which they are the cauſe, could any ſcheme have been more happily

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happily and perfectly contrived than that of Henry the Great?

Here then is all that could be reasonably expected or required. It is only in the power of man to prepare and act; success is the work of a more mighty hand. Sensible people cannot be blamed for being prejudiced in favour of the scheme in question, from this circumstance only, that it was formed by the two potentates whom posterity will always consider as the most perfect models of the art of governing. In regard to Henry in particular, I insist that it belongs only to princes, who, like him, have had a constant succession of obstacles to encounter in all their designs. These, I say, are the princes who alone are privileged to judge what are real obstacles; and, when we behold them willing to lay down their lives in support of their opinions, surely we may abide by their sentiments, without fear of being deceived. For my own part, I shall always think with regret, that France, by the blow which it received from the loss of this great prince, was deprived of a glory far superior to that which his reign had acquired *. There remains only to explain the several parts of the design, and the manner in which they were to be executed. We will begin by what relates to religion.

Two religions principally prevail in Christendom, the roman and the reformed; but, as this latter admits of several variations in its worship, which render it, if not as different from itself as from the roman, at least as far from being re-united, it is therefore necessary to divide it in two, one of which may be called the reformed, and the other the protestant religion. The manner in which these three religions prevail in Europe is extremely various.

* From hence we may discover what credit should be given to Siri, when he says, that the sole passion of Henry the Great was to amass riches; that his minister forced him into the design against his inclination; and that the duke of Sully, whom he believes to be the sole author of it, was himself prepossessed in its favour only from mere obstinacy, or perhaps from motives of self-interest.

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Italy and Spain remain in poſſeſſion of the roman religion, pure and without mixture of any other. The reformed religion ſubſiſts in France with the roman, only under favour of the edicts, and is the weakeſt. England, Denmark, Sweden, the Low-Countries, and Switzerland, have alſo a mixture of the ſame kind, but with this difference, that in them the proteſtant is the governing religion, the others are only tolerated. Germany unites all theſe, and even in ſeveral of its circles, as well as in Poland, ſhews them equal favour. I ſay nothing of Muſcovy or Ruſſia. Theſe vaſt countries, which are not leſs than ſix hundred leagues in length, and four hundred in breadth, being in great part ſtill idolaters, and in part ſchiſmatics, ſuch as Greeks and Arminians, who have introduced ſo many ſuperſtitious practices in their worſhip, that there ſcarce remains any conformity with us among them; beſides, that they belong to Aſia at leaſt as much as to Europe, we may indeed almoſt conſider them as a barbarous country, and place them in the ſame claſs with Turky, tho', for theſe five hundred years, we have ranked them among the chriſtian powers.

Each of theſe three religions being now eſtabliſhed in Europe, in ſuch a manner that there is not the leaſt appearance that any of them can be deſtroyed, and experience having ſufficiently demonſtrated the inutility and danger of ſuch an enterprize, the beſt therefore that can be done, is to preſerve, and even ſtrengthen all of them in ſuch a manner, nevertheleſs, that this indulgence may not become an encouragement to the production of new ſects or opinions, which ſhould carefully be ſuppreſſed on their firſt appearance. God himſelf, by manifeſtly ſupporting what the catholics were pleaſed to call the new religion, has taught us this conduct, which is not leſs conformable to the Holy Scriptures than confirmed by its examples; and, beſides, the unſurmountable difficulty of forcing the Pope's authority to be received in thoſe places where it is now

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no longer acknowledged, renders what is here propoſed abſolutely neceſſary. Several cardinals equally ſagacious and zealous, and even ſome Popes, as Clement VIII. and Paul V. were of this opinion.

All, therefore, that remains now to be done, is to ſtrengthen the nations, who have made choice of one of theſe religions, in the principles they profeſs, as there is nothing in all reſpects ſo pernicious as a liberty in belief; and thoſe nations, whoſe inhabitants profeſs ſeveral, or all theſe religions, ſhould be careful to obſerve thoſe rules which they find neceſſary to remedy the ordinary inconveniences of a toleration, which, in other reſpects, they probably experience to be beneficial. Italy, therefore, profeſſing the roman religion, and being moreover the reſidence of the Popes, ſhould preſerve this religion in all its purity, and there would be no hardſhip in obliging all its inhabitants, either to conform to it, or quit the country. The ſame regulation, very nearly, might be obſerved in regard to Spain. In ſuch ſtates as that of France, where there is at leaſt a governing religion, whoever ſhould think the regulation too ſevere, by which calviniſm would be always ſubordinate to the religion of the prince, might be permitted to depart the country. No new regulation would be neceſſary in any of the other nations; no violence on this account, but liberty unreſtrained, ſeeing this liberty is become even a fundamental principle in their governments.

Thus we may perceive every thing on this head might be reduced to a very few maxims, ſo much the more certain and invariable, as they were not contrary to the ſentiments of any one. The proteſtants are very far from pretending to force their religion upon any of their neighbours, by whom it is not voluntarily embraced. The catholics, doubtleſs, are of the ſame ſentiments, and the Pope would receive no injury in being deprived of what he confeſſes himſelf not to have poſſeſſed for a long time. His ſacrificing theſe chimerical rights would be

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abundantly compenſated by the regal dignity with which it would be proper to inveſt him, and by the honour of being afterwards the common mediator between all the chriſtian princes, a dignity which he would then enjoy without jealouſy, and for which it muſt be confeſſed this court, by its ſagacious conduct, has ſhewn itſelf the moſt proper of any.

Another point of the political ſcheme, which alſo concerns religion, relates to the infidel princes of Europe, and conſiſts in forcing thoſe entirely out of it who refuſe to conform to any of the chriſtian doctrines of religion. Should the grand duke of Muſcovy, or czar of Ruſſia, who is believed to be the antient khan of Scythia, refuſe to enter into the aſſociation after it is propoſed to him, he ought to be treated like the ſultan of Turky, deprived of his poſſeſſions in Europe, and confined to Aſia only, where he might, as long as he pleaſed, without any interruption from us, continue the wars in which he is almoſt conſtantly engaged againſt the Turks and Perſians.

To ſucceed in the execution of this, which will not appear difficult, if we ſuppoſe that all chriſtian princes unanimouſly concurred in it, it would only be neceſſary for each of them to contribute, in proportion to their ſeveral abilities, towards the ſupport of the forces, and all the other incidental expences, which the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize might require. Theſe reſpective quotas were to have been determined by a general council, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The following is what Henry the Great had himſelf conceived on this head. The Pope for this expedition ſhould have furniſhed eight thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, ten cannons, and ten gallies; the emperor and the circles of Germany, ſixty thouſand foot, twenty thouſand horſe, five large cannons, and ten gallies or other veſſels; the king of France twenty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, twenty cannons, and ten ſhips or gallies; Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the like number with France, obſerving

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only, that these powers should together supply what belonged to the sea service in the manner most suitable to their respective conveniences and abilities therein; the king of Bohemia five thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and five cannons; the king of Hungary twelve thousand foot, five thousand horse, twenty cannons, and six ships; the duke of Savoy, or king of Lombardy, eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, eight cannons, and six gallies; the republic of Venice ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and twenty-five gallies; the republic of the Swiss cantons fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and twelve cannons; the republic of Holland twelve thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, twelve cannons, and twelve ships; the Italian republics ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and eight gallies; the whole together amounting to about two hundred and seventy thousand foot, fifty thousand horse, two hundred cannons, and one hundred and twenty ships or gallies, equipped and maintained at the expence of all those powers, each contributing according to his particular proportion.

This armament of the princes and states of Europe appears so inconsiderable and so little burdensome, when compared with the forces which they usually keep on foot to awe their neighbours, or perhaps their own subjects, that were it to have subsisted, even perpetually, it would not have occasioned any inconvenience, and would have been an excellent military academy: but, besides that the enterprizes for which it was destined, would not always have continued; the number and expence of it might have been diminished in proportion to the necessities, which would always have been the same. Tho' I am persuaded such an armament would have been so highly approved of by all these princes, that, after they had conquered with it whatever they would not suffer any stranger should share with them in Europe, they would have sought to join to it such parts of Asia as were most commo-

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diouſly ſituated, and particularly the whole coaſt of Africa, which is too near to our own territories for us not to be frequently incommoded by it. The only precaution to be obſerved in regard to theſe additional countries, would have been to form them into new kingdoms, declare them united with the reſt of the chriſtian powers, and beſtow them on different princes; carefully obſerving to exclude thoſe who before bore rank among the ſovereigns of Europe.

That part of the deſign which may be conſidered as purely political, turned almoſt entirely on a firſt preliminary, which, I think, would not have met with more difficulty than the preceding article. This was to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the empire, and of all the poſſeſſions in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries: in a word, to reduce it to the ſole kingdom of Spain, bounded by the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenean mountains. But that it might, nevertheleſs, be equally powerful with the other ſovereignties of Europe, it ſhould have Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca; and, in the other iſlands on its own coaſts, the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape-Verd, with its poſſeſſions in Africa, Mexico, and the American iſlands which belong to it; countries which alone might ſuffice to found great kingdoms: finally, the Philippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and its other poſſeſſions in Aſia.

From hence a method ſeems to preſent itſelf, by which the houſe of Auſtria might be made amends for what it would be deprived of in Europe, which is, to increaſe its dominions in the three other parts of the world, by aſſiſting it to obtain, and by declaring it the ſole proprietor, both of what we do know, and what we may hereafter diſcover in thoſe parts. We may ſuppoſe, that, on this occaſion, it would not have been neceſſary to uſe force to bring this houſe to concur in ſuch a deſign; and, indeed, even on this ſuppoſition, it was not the prince of this houſe reigning in Spain, to whom theſe parts of the world were to be ſubjected, but to different princes

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princes of the ſame or of different branches, who, in acknowledgment of their poſſeſſions, ſhould only have rendered homage to the crown of Spain, or, at moſt, a tribute, as due to the original conquerors. This houſe, which is ſo very deſirous of being the moſt powerful in the world, might hereby have continued to flatter itſelf with ſo pleaſing a pre-eminence, without the other powers being endangered by its pretended grandeur.

The ſteps taken by the houſe of Auſtria to arrive at univerſal monarchy, which evidently appears from the whole conduct of Charles V. and his ſon, have rendered this ſeverity as juſt as it is neceſſary; and I will venture to ſay, that this houſe would not have had any reaſonable cauſe to complain of it. It is true, it would be deprived of the empire; but when impartially conſidered, it will appear that all the other princes of Germany, and even of Europe, have an equal right to it. Were it neceſſary to prove this, we need only recollect on what conditions Charles V. himſelf, the moſt powerful of them all, was acknowledged emperor; conditions which, at Smalcalde, he ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, in preſence of ſeven princes or electors, and the deputies of twenty-four proteſtant towns; the landgrave of Heſſe and the prince of Anhalt being ſpeakers for all of them. He ſwore, I ſay, never to act contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the empire, particularly the famous golden bull, obtained under Charles IV. unleſs it were to amplify them, and even that only with the expreſs conſent and advice of the ſovereign princes of Germany: not to infringe nor deprive them of any of their privileges; not to introduce foreigners into their council; not to make either war or peace without their conſent; not to beſtow honours and employments but on natives of Germany; not to uſe any other but the German language in all writings; not to levy any taxes by his own authority, nor apply any conqueſts which might be made, to his own particular profit. He,

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in particular, formally renounced all pretences of hereditary right in his houſe to the imperial dignity; and, according to the ſecond article of the golden bull, he ſwore never in his life-time to recognize a king of the Romans. When the proteſtants of Germany, after they had in a manner driven Ferdinand out of it, conſented to have the imperial crown placed on his head, they were careful to make him renew his engagements in regard to all theſe articles, and to all theſe new regulations relative to the free exerciſe of their religion.

As to the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries, of which it was to be deprived, not to mention here how much it is indebted for them to a tyrannical uſurpation, it would, after all, be only depriving it of territories which it keeps at ſo prodigious an expence (I ſpeak, in particular, of Italy and the Low Countries) as all its treaſures of the Indies have not been able to defray: and beſides, by inveſting it with the excluſive privilege above-mentioned, of gaining new eſtabliſhments, and appropriating to its own uſe the mines and treaſures of the three other parts of the world, it would be abundantly indemnified; for theſe new acquiſitions would be at leaſt as conſiderable, and undoubtedly far more rich, than thoſe. But what is here propoſed muſt not be underſtood as if the other nations of Europe were excluded from all commerce to thoſe countries; on the contrary, it ſhould be free and open to every one, and the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of conſidering this ſtipulation, which is of the greateſt conſequence, as an infringement of its privileges, would rather have reaſon to regard it as a farther advantage.

From a farther examination and conſideration of theſe diſpoſitions, I do not doubt but the houſe of Auſtria would have accepted the propoſed conditions without being forced to it: but, ſuppoſing the contrary, what would a reſiſtance have ſignified? The promiſe made to all the princes of Europe, of enrich-

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ing themſelves by the territories of which this houſe was to be diveſted, would deprive it of all hopes of aſſiſtance from any of them.

Upon the whole then it appears, that all parties would have been gainers by it, and this was what aſſured Henry the Great of the ſucceſs of his deſign: the empire would again become a dignity to which all princes, but particularly thoſe of Germany, might aſpire: and this dignity would be ſo much the more deſirable, though, according to its original inſtitution, no revenues would be annexed to it, as the emperor would be declared the firſt and chief magiſtrate of the whole chriſtian republic; and as we may ſuppoſe this honour would afterwards be conferred only on the moſt worthy, all his privileges in this reſpect, inſtead of being diminiſhed, would be enlarged, his authority over the Belgic and Helvetic republics would be more conſiderable, and upon every new election they would be obliged to render him a reſpectful homage. The electors would ſtill continue to enjoy the right of electing the emperor, as well as of nominating the king of the Romans; with this reſtriction only, that the election ſhould not be made twice together out of the ſame family. The firſt to have been elected in this manner, was the elector of Bavaria, who was alſo, in conſequence of the partition, to have had thoſe territories poſſeſſed by the houſe of Auſtria which joined to his own on the ſide of Italy.

The reſt of theſe territories were to have been divided and equally diſtributed by the kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, among the Venetians, the Griſons, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the marquis of Baden, Anſpach, and Dourlach. Bohemia was to have been conſtituted an elective kingdom, by annexing it to Moravia, Sileſia, and Luſatia. Hungary was alſo to have been an elective kingdom, and the Pope, the emperor, the kings of France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy, were to have had the right

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right of nomination to it: and becauſe this kingdom may be conſidered as the barrier of Chriſtendom againſt the infidels, it was to have been rendered the moſt powerful and able to reſiſt them; and this was to have been done by immediately adding to it the archduchy of Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and by afterwards incorporating with it whatever might be acquired in Tranſilvania, Boſnia, Sclavonia, and Croatia. The ſame electors were to have obliged themſelves, by oath, to aſſiſt it upon all occaſions; and they were to have been particularly careful never to grant their ſuffrages from partiality, artifice, or intrigue; but always to confer the dignity on a prince, who, by his great qualifications, particularly for war, ſhould be generally acknowledged as moſt proper. Poland being, from its nearneſs to Turky, Muſcovy, and Tartary, in the ſame ſituation with Hungary, was alſo to have been an elective kingdom, by the ſame eight potentates; and its power was to have been augmented, by annexing to it whatever ſhould be conquered from the infidels adjoining to its own frontiers, and by determining in its favour thoſe diſputes which it had with all its other neighbours. Switzerland, when augmented by Franche-compté, Alſace, Tirol, and other territories, was to have been united into a ſovereign republic, governed by a council or ſenate, of which the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the Venetians, were to have been umpires.

The changes to be made in Italy were, that the Pope ſhould be declared a ſecular prince, and bear rank among the monarchs of Europe, and under this title ſhould poſſeſs Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and all their dependencies, which ſhould be indiſſolubly united to St. Peter's patrimony; but in caſe the holy father had oppoſed this, which indeed could ſcarce have been ſuppoſed, the diſpoſition muſt then have been changed, and the kingdom of Naples would have been divided and diſpoſed of as the electoral kings ſhould have determined. Sicily was to have

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have been ceded to the republic of Venice, by letters from the ſame eight principal potentates, upon condition that it ſhould render homage for it to every Pope, who ſhould bear the title of Immediate chief of the whole Italian republic; otherwiſe, for this reaſon, called The republic of the church. The other members of this republic were to have been Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Lucca, without any alterations in their government: Bologna and Ferrara were to have been rendered free cities; and all theſe governments were every twenty years to have rendered homage to the Pope their chief, by the gift of a crucifix of the value of ten thouſand crowns.

Of the three great republics of Europe, it appears, upon the firſt glance, that this would have been the moſt brilliant and the richeſt. Nevertheleſs, it would not have been ſo; for what belonged to the duke of Savoy was not comprized herein. His territories were to have been conſtituted one of the great monarchies of Europe, hereditary to males and females, and to have born the title of the kingdom of Lombardy; wherein, beſide the territory ſo called, the Milaneſe and Montferrat would alſo have been comprized; and the duke of Mantua, in exchange for theſe, was to have the duchy of Cremona. An authentic teſtimony of the inſtitution would have been given by the Pope, the emperor, and the other ſovereigns of the chriſtian republic.

Among all theſe different diſmemberings, we may obſerve that France received nothing for itſelf, but the glory of diſtributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before. He even ſometimes ſaid, with equal moderation and good ſenſe, that were theſe diſpoſitions once firmly eſtabliſhed, he would have voluntarily conſented to have the extent of France determined by a majority of ſuffrages*. Nevertheleſs, as the diſtricts of

* What then does Siri mean, when he entertains us with the deſign which he falſly affirms Henry the Great had to join Lorrain to Artois,

Artois, Hainault, Cambray, Cambreſis, Tournay, Namure, and Luxembourg, might more ſuitably be annexed to France than any other nation, they were to have been ceded to Henry; but to have been divided into ten diſtinct governments, and beſtowed on ſo many French princes or lords, all of them bearing rank as ſovereigns.

In regard to England it was preciſely the ſame: this was a determined point between Elizabeth and Henry, the two princes who were authors of the ſcheme, probably from an obſervation made by this queen, that the Britannic iſles, in all the different ſtates through which they had paſſed, whether under one or ſeveral monarchs, elective, hereditary, maſculine, or feminine, and among all the variations of their laws and policy, had never experienced any great diſappointments or misfortunes, but when their ſovereigns had meddled in affairs out of their little continent. It ſeems, indeed, as if they were concentred in it even by nature, and their happineſs appears to depend entirely on themſelves, without having any concerns with their neighbours, provided that they ſeek only to maintain peace in the three nations ſubject to them, by governing each according to its own laws and cuſtoms. To render every thing equal between France and England, Brabant from the duchy of Limbourg, the juriſdiction of Malines, and the other dependencies on Flemiſh Flanders, Gallican or Imperial, were to have been formed into eight ſovereign fiefs, to be given to ſo many princes or lords of this nation.

Theſe two parts excepted, all the reſt of the ſeventeen United Provinces, whether belonging to Spain or not, were to have been erected into a free and independent ſtate, under the title of the Bel-

France, Tom. I. p. 555? and to get Savoy ceded to him, Tom. II. p. 61? What he ſays of the diſpoſitions, in regard to the Pope and the Venetians, &c. Tom. II. p. 180. is equally falſe. This writer ſeems indeed to have been in the pay of the houſe of Auſtria.

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gic republic; though there was one other fief to be formed from them, bearing the title of a principality, to be granted to the prince of Orange; alſo ſome other inconſiderable indemnities for three or four other perſons. The ſucceſſion of Cleves was to have been divided among thoſe princes whom the emperor would have deprived of it, as the means of gratifying them at the expence of the houſe of Auſtria, as well as ſome other princes of the ſame diſtrict, to whom the imperial towns ſituated therein, would have been granted. Even Sweden and Denmark, though they were to be conſidered as under the influence of the ſame law which England and France had impoſed on themſelves, would, by this diſtribution, have enlarged their territories, and acquired other conſiderable advantages. An end would have been put to the perpetual troubles which agitated theſe two kingdoms; and this, I think, would have been rendering them no inconſiderable ſervice. All theſe ceſſions, exchanges, and tranſpoſitions towards the north of Germany, were to have been determined by the kings of France, England, and Lombardy, and the republic of Venice.

And now perhaps the purport of the deſign may be perceived, which was to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in ſuch a manner, that none of them might have cauſe either of envy or fear, from the poſſeſſions or power of the others. The number of them was reduced to fifteen; and they were of three kinds: ſix great hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four ſovereign republics. The ſix hereditary monarchies were France, Spain, England or Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies were the Empire, the Papacy or Pontificate, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four republics were the Venetian, the Italian, or what, from its dukes, may be called the Ducal, the Swiſs, Helvetic

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ric or Confederate, and the Belgic, or Provincial republic.

The laws and ordinances proper to cement an union between all theſe princes, and to maintain that harmony which ſhould be once eſtabliſhed among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual aſſurances in reſpect to the freedom of commerce, and the meaſures to be taken to make all theſe partitions with equity and to the general content and ſatisfaction of the parties: all theſe matters are to be underſtood; nor is it neceſſary to ſay any thing of the precaution taken by Henry in regard to them. The moſt that could have happened would have been ſome trifling difficulties, which would eaſily have been obviated in the general council, repreſenting all the ſtates of Europe; the eſtabliſhment of which was certainly the happieſt invention that could have been conceived, to prevent thoſe innovations which time often introduces in the wiſeſt and moſt uſeful inſtitutions.

The model of this general council of Europe had been formed on that of the antient Amphyctions of Greece, with ſuch alterations only as rendered it ſuitable to our cuſtoms, climate, and policy. It conſiſted of a certain number of commiſſaries, miniſters, or plenipotentiaries from all the governments of the chriſtian republic, who were to be conſtantly aſſembled as a ſenate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur; to diſcuſs the different intereſts, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itſelf or with its neighbours. The form and manner of proceeding in the ſenate would have been more particularly determined by the ſuffrages of the ſenate itſelf. Henry was of opinion that it ſhould be compoſed of four commiſſaries from each of the following potentates: The Emperor, the Pope, the kings of

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France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, and the republic of Venice; and of two only from the other republics and inferior powers, which all together would have compoſed a ſenate of about ſixty-ſix perſons, who ſhould have been rechoſe every three years.

In regard to the place of meeting, it remained to have been determined, whether it would be better for the council to be fixed or ambulatory, divided in three, or united in one. If it were divided into three, each containing twenty-two magiſtrates, then each of them muſt have been fixed in ſuch a center as ſhould appear to be moſt commodious, as Paris or Bourges for one, and ſomewhere about Trente and Cracovia for the two others. If it were judged more expedient not to divide their aſſembly, whether fixed or ambulatory, it muſt have been nearly in the center of Europe, and would conſequently have been fixed in ſome one of the fourteen cities following: Metz, Luxembourg, Nancy, Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Franckfort, Wirtzbourg, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Straſbourg, Bale, Bizancon.

Beſides this general council, it would perhaps have been proper to have conſtituted ſome others, of an inferior degree, for the particular convenience of different diſtricts. For example, were ſix ſuch created, they might have been placed at Dantzick, Nuremberg, Vienna, Bologna, Conſtance; and the laſt, wherever it ſhould be judged moſt convenient for the kingdoms of France, Spain, England, and the Belgic republic. But whatever the number or form of theſe particular councils might have been, it would have been abſolutely neceſſary, that they ſhould be ſubordinate, and recur, by appeal, to the great general council, whoſe deciſions, when conſidered as proceeding from the united authority of all the ſovereigns pronounced in a manner equally free and abſolute, muſt have been regarded as ſo many final and irrevocable decrees.

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But let us quit theſe ſpeculative deſigns, in which practice and experience would perhaps have cauſed many alterations; and let us come to the means actually employed by Henry to facilitate the execution of his great deſign.

To gain one of the moſt powerful princes of Europe, with whom to concert all his deſigns, was what Henry always conſidered as of the utmoſt conſequence: and this was the reaſon, that after the death of Elizabeth, who had indiſſolubly united the intereſt of the two crowns of France and England, every means was uſed which might inſpire her ſucceſſor, king James, with all her ſentiments. Had I but ſucceeded in the ſolemn embaſſy, the particulars of which I have related already, ſo far as to have gained this prince's conſent to have his name appear openly with Henry's, this military confederacy, eſpecially if it had, in like manner, been ſtrengthened with the names of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, would have prevented the troubles and difficulties of many negotiations: but nothing farther could be obtained of the king of England, than the ſame promiſes which were required of the other courts; namely, that he would not only not oppoſe the confederacy, but when Henry had made his deſigns public, would declare himſelf in his favour, and contribute towards it in the ſame manner as the other powers intereſted therein. A means was, indeed, afterwards found to obtain the execution of this promiſe, in a manner ſo much the more eaſy, as it did not diſturb the natural indolence of this prince; and this was, by getting what he heſitated to undertake in his own name, executed by his ſon, the prince of Wales, who, as ſoon as he had obtained his father's promiſe, that he would at leaſt not obſtruct his proceedings, prevented Henry's utmoſt wiſhes; being animated with a thirſt of glory, and deſire to render himſelf worthy the eſteem and alliance of Henry; for he was to marry the eldeſt of the daughters of France. He wrote me ſeveral letters upon

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upon this ſubject, and expreſſed himſelf in the manner I have mentioned. He alſo farther ſaid, that the king of France might depend upon having ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which he would oblige himſelf to bring into his ſervice whenever they ſhould be required: and this number was afterwards augmented by two thouſand more foot, and eight cannons, maintained in all reſpects at the expence of England for three years at leaſt. The king of Sweden did not ſhew himſelf leſs zealous for the common cauſe; and the king of Denmark alſo appeared to be equally well diſpoſed in its favour.

In the mean time we were indefatigable in our negociations in the different courts of Europe, particularly in the circles of Germany and the United Provinces, where the king, for this purpoſe, had ſent Boiſſiſe, Freſne-Canaye, Baugy, Ancel, and Bongars. The council of the States were very ſoon unanimous in their determinations: the prince of Orange ſent the ſieurs Malderet and Brederode from them, to offer the king fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. They were ſoon followed by the landgrave of Heſſe, and the prince of Anhalt; to whom, as well as to the prince of Orange, the confederacy was obliged for being increaſed by the duke of Savoy; by all of the reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Auſtria; by many proteſtant princes and towns in Germany; in fine, by all the Swiſs Cantons of this religion. And when the ſucceſſion of Cleves, which the Emperor ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to uſurp, became another incentive to the confederacy, there was then ſcarce any part of Germany that was not for us; which evidently appeared from the reſult of the general aſſembly at Hall. The elector of Saxony, who perhaps remained alone of the oppoſite party, might have been embarraſſed in an affair, out of which he would probably have found it difficult to extricate himſelf; and this was to have been done, by ſug-

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geſting to him the branch of John Frederic, deprived of this electorate by Charles V.

There were ſeveral of theſe powers, in regard to whom I am perſuaded nothing would have been riſked, by diſcloſing to them the whole intent and ſcope of the deſign. On the contrary, they would probably have ſeconded it with the greater ardour, when they found the deſtruction of the Auſtrian grandeur was a determined point. Theſe powers were, more particularly, the Venetians, the United Provinces, almoſt all the proteſtants, and eſpecially the evangelics of Germany. But as too many precautions could not be taken, to prevent the catholic powers from being prejudiced againſt the new alliance in which they were to be engaged; a too haſty diſcovery, either of the true motives, or the whole intent of the deſign, was therefore cautiouſly avoided. It was at firſt concealed from all without exception, and afterwards revealed but to a few perſons of approved diſcretion, and thoſe only ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary to engage others to join the confederacy. The aſſociation was for a long time ſpoke of to others only as a kind of general treaty of peace, wherein ſuch methods would be projected, as the public benefit, and the general ſervice of Europe, might ſuggeſt as neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the exceſſive power of the houſe of Auſtria. Our ambaſſadors and agents had orders only to demand of theſe princes a renewal or commencement of alliance, in order more effectually to ſucceed in the projected peace; to conſult with them upon the means whereby to effect it; to appear as if they were ſent only, in conjunction with them, to endeavour the diſcovery of theſe means; but yet to ſound them, and according to the diſpoſition in which they were, to inſinuate, as if by accidental conjecture, ſome notion of a new method more proper to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, and to ſecure to each religion a more undiſturbed repoſe than they had hitherto enjoyed. The propoſals made

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made to the kings of England and Sweden, and the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, for alliances by marriage, proved very ſucceſsful: it was abſolutely determined, that the Dauphin ſhould eſpouſe the heireſs of Lorrain, which dutchy ſtill continued, as before, to depend on the Empire.

But no precaution appeared ſo neceſſary, nor was more ſtrongly recommended to our negotiators, than to convince all the princes of Europe of the diſintereſtedneſs with which Henry was reſolved to act on this occaſion. This point was indefatigably laboured, and they were convinced of it, when, on the ſuppoſition that it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, we ſtrongly proteſted, that the forces, the treaſures, and even the perſon of Henry, might be depended on; and this in a manner ſo generous on his ſide, that, inſtead of expecting to be rewarded, or even indemnified for them, he was voluntarily inclined to give the moſt poſitive aſſurances, not to reſerve to himſelf a ſingle town, nor the ſmalleſt diſtrict. This moderation, of which at laſt no one doubted, made a ſuitable impreſſion, eſpecially when it was perceived to be ſo much the more gernerous, as there was ſufficient to excite and ſatisfy the deſires of all. And, in the interim, before the ſolemn publication of this abſolute renunciation, which was to have been made in the manifeſtoes that were preparing, Henry gave a proof of it, that was an abſolute demonſtration to the Pope.

No one being ignorant that as it was, at leaſt, intended to deprive Spain of thoſe of its uſurpations which were the moſt manifeſtly unjuſt; Navarre and Rouſillon would infallibly revert to France; the king therefore voluntarily offered to exchange them for the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and at the ſame time to make a preſent of both to the Pope and the republic of Venice. This, certainly, was renouncing the moſt inconteſtible right

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he could have to any of the territories of which this crown was to be deprived; and by ſubmitting this affair, as he did, to the determination of the Pope and the Venetians, he the more ſenſibly obliged them, as both the honour and profit which might ariſe therefore would be in their favour. The Pope, therefore, on the firſt propoſition made to him, even prevented Henry's intentions; he immediately demanded, whether, as affairs were then circumſtanced, the ſeveral powers would approve his taking upon him the office of common mediator, to eſtabliſh peace in Europe, and convert the continual wars among its ſeveral princes, into a perpetual war againſt the Infidels; which is a part of the deſign he had been very careful to acquaint him with; and the Pope ſufficiently ſhewed, that he was deſirous nothing ſhould be done without his participation; and that he was ſtill leſs diſpoſed to refuſe the advantage offered to him.

Paul V. when a favourable opportunity offered, explained himſelf more openly on this head. Ubaldini, his nuncio, told the king, that his holineſs, for the confederacy againſt the houſe of Auſtria, would, on various pretences, engage to raiſe ten thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and ten cannons; provided that his majeſty would promiſe to defray the neceſſary expences of their ſubſiſtence for three years; would give all poſſible ſecurity for the ceſſion of Naples, and the other rights of homage, according to promiſe; and would ſincerely conſent to the other condition, in regard to the treaty which he ſhould think neceſſary to impoſe. Theſe conditions, at leaſt the principal of them, were, that only catholics ſhould be elected emperors; that the roman religion ſhould be maintained in all its rights, and the eccleſiaſtics in all their privileges and immunities; and the proteſtants ſhould not be permitted to eſtabliſh themſelves in places where they were not eſtabliſhed before the treaty. The king promiſed Ubaldini, that he would religiouſly obſerve

ſerve all theſe conditions; and farther, he relinquiſhed to the Pope the honour of being the arbitrator of all thoſe regulations to be made in the eſtabliſhment of the new republic.

The removing of theſe difficulties in regard to the Pope, was of no inconſiderable conſequence; for his example would not fail to be of great force in determining the other catholic powers, eſpecially thoſe of Italy. Nothing was neglected which might promote the favourable diſpoſitions in which they appeared to be, by punctually paying the cardinals and petty princes of Italy their penſions, and even by adding to them ſeveral other gratuities. The eſtabliſhment of a new monarchy in Italy was the only pretence theſe petty courts had for not joining the confederacy; but this vain apprehenſion would be eaſily diſſipated. The particular advantages which each would acquire, might alone have ſatisfied them in this reſpect; but if not, all oppoſers might have been threatened with being declared, after a certain time, diveſted of all right to the propoſed advantages, and even of all pretenſions to the empire, or the elective kingdoms; and that the republics amongſt them ſhould be converted into ſovereignties, and ſovereignties into republics. There is but little probability that any of them would even have demurred what to do. The puniſhment of the firſt offender would have compelled the ſubmiſſion of all theſe petty ſtates, who were beſides ſufficiently ſenſible of their importance. But this method was not to be uſed but on failure of all others; and even then, no opportunity would have been neglected of ſhewing them favour.

And now we are arrived at the point to which every thing was advanced, at the fatal moment of the death of Henry the Great; and the following is a circumſtantial detail of the forces for the war, which all the parties concerned had, in conjunction with him, agreed to furniſh: The contingents of the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark, were

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each eight thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and eight cannons; to be raiſed and maintained, in all reſpects, at their expence, at leaſt for three years; and this expence, reckoning ten livres a month for each foot ſoldier, thirty livres for each trooper, the pay of the officers included, and the year to be compoſed of ten months, would amount, for each of theſe ſtates, to three millions three hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres for three years; the expence of the artillery, fifteen hundred livres a month for each piece, being alſo included. The princes of Germany beforementioned, were to furniſh twenty-five thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and forty cannons; they had themſelves computed the expence at nine or ten millions for three years. The United Provinces, twelve thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and ten cannons: the expence twelve millions. Hungary, Bohemia, and the other evangelics of Germany, the ſame number, and nearly at the ſame expence. The Pope, ten thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and eight cannons. The duke of Savoy, eighteen thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons. The Venetians, twelve thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons. The expence of theſe laſt mentioned armaments the king himſelf had engaged to defray. The total of all theſe foreign forces, allowing for deficiencies, which might probably have happened, would always have been, at leaſt, one hundred thouſand foot, from twenty to twenty-five thouſand horſe, and about one hundred and twenty cannons.

The king, on his ſide, had actually on foot two good and well furniſhed armies; the firſt, which he was to have commanded in perſon, conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, all native French, eight thouſand Switzers, four thouſand Lanſquenets or Walloons, five thouſand horſe, and twenty cannons. The ſecond, to be commanded by Leſdiguieres, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, conſiſted of ten thouſand foot, one thouſand horſe, and ten cannons; beſide

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beſide a flying camp, of four thouſand foot, ſix hundred horſe, and ten cannons; and a reſerve of two thouſand foot, to garriſon ſuch places where they might be neceſſary*. We will here make a general calculation of all theſe troops.

The twenty thouſand foot, at twenty-one livres a month to each man, including the appointments of generals and officers, would, by the month, require four hundred and twenty thouſand livres, and by the year, five millions and forty thouſand livres; the eight thouſand Switzers and four thouſand Lanſquenets, three millions; the five thouſand horſe, at ſixty livres a month to each, by the month, would require two hundred and forty thouſand livres, and by the year, two millions eight hundred and forty thouſand livres: this computation is made ſo high as ſixty livres a month to each, becauſe the pay of the officers, and particularly of the king's white troops, compoſed of a thouſand men of the firſt rank in the kingdom, who ſerved as volunteers, was therein included. The expence of the twenty large cannons, ſix culverins, and four demi-culverins, ſuppoſing all neceſſary furniture for them provided, would amount to three thouſand ſix hundred livres a month for each piece; the thirty together would conſequently require one hundred and eight thouſand livres. Extraordinary expences and loſſes, in regard to the proviſions and ammunition for this army, might be computed at one hundred and fifty thouſand livres.

And for expences, whether ordinary or extraordinary, in ſpies, for the ſick and wounded, and

* There are ſome variations in our Memoirs in regard to the number of men, both in the royal grand army, which, in different places, is ſaid to be compoſed of thirty, thirty-two, and thirty-ſix thouſand foot, of four, five, ſix, and eight thouſand horſe, and from thirty to fifty cannons; and in that of the confederate princes of Germany, ſometimes computed even at forty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; ſimilar differences do often occur in regard to thoſe of Italy, and the other confederate princes: neither are the calculations of the expence always the ſame, nor quite juſt in their eſtimates.

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other unforeſeen contingencies, computing at the higheſt, a like ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand livres. To ſupply the deficiencies which might happen in the armies of the confederate princes, to pay the penſions, and to anſwer other particular exigences which might ariſe in the kingdom, three hundred thouſand livres a month; for the year, three millions ſix hundred thouſand livres. The army of Leſdiguieres would require three millions a year; and as much for each of the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy. Theſe four laſt articles together, make twelve millions a year; which, added to the preceding ſums, amount in the whole to about thirty millions one hundred and ſixty thouſand livres a year.

It remains only to triple this total for the three years, during which it was ſuppoſed there might be occaſion for the forces, and the whole amount will appear to be between ninety and ninety-one millions, which might nearly be neceſſary to defray the expences of the intended war; I ſay nearly, for in this calculation I have not included the flying camp, nor the two thouſand men for garriſons: the firſt of theſe two articles, at the rate of eighteen livres a month to each foot ſoldier, and fifty livres to each trooper, would require a further ſum of about one hundred and thirty thouſand livres a month; which, for a year, would be one million five hundred thouſand livres, and four millions five hundred thouſand livres for three years: the ſecond article for the three years, would require about twelve hundred thouſand livres.

On a ſuppoſition that the expence of France, on this occaſion, would not have amounted to more than between ninety and ninety-five millions; which ſuppoſition is far from being hazardous, becauſe we have here computed every thing at the higheſt it would bear; it is eaſy to ſhew, that at the expiration of the three years, Henry would have remaining in his coffers thirty millions over and above what would be

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be expended. The total amount of all the receipts from the ſeveral funds, formed and to be formed for theſe three years, being one hundred twenty one millions five hundred and forty thouſand livres, as appears from the three eſtimates which I drew up and preſented to his majeſty.

The firſt of theſe eſtimates, which contained only a liſt of the ſums actually depoſited in the Baſtile, amounted to twenty-two millions four hundred and ſixty thouſand livres, in ſeveral coffers, marked Phelipeaux, Puget, and Bouhier: the ſecond was another liſt, of the ſums actually due from the farmers, partiſans, and receivers-general; which might be conſidered as in poſſeſſion, and produced another total of eighteen millions ſix hundred and thirteen thouſand livres; theſe two totals together made forty-one millions ſeventy-three thouſand livres, which the king would immediately have at his diſpoſal: to acquire the reſt of theſe hundred and twenty-one millions, I had no recourſe, in the third eſtimate, to any new taxations. The whole remainder would ariſe ſolely from the offers of augmentation upon the ſeveral royal revenues which the farmers and partiſans had made for a leaſe of three years, and from what the officers of juſtice and the finances had voluntarily engaged to furniſh, provided they might be permitted the free enjoyment of certain privileges: ſo that in theſe one hundred twenty-one millions, I had not comprehended the three years receipts of the other royal revenues. And in caſe it were afterwards neceſſary to have recourſe to means ſomewhat more burthenſome, I had given the king another eſtimate, whereby, inſtead of theſe one hundred twenty-one millions, it appeared that one hundred ſeventy-five millions might have been raiſed. I alſo demonſtrated, that upon any preſſing emergency, this kingdom could open itſelf reſources of treaſure that are almoſt innumerable.

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It was very much to be wiſhed, that the ſums of money and the numbers of men to be furniſhed by the other confederates, would be equally well ſecured by ſuch eſtimates: but whatever deficiencies might have happened, having forty-one millions to diſtribute where-ever it might be found neceſſary, what obſtacles could Henry have to fear from a power who was known to be deſtitute of money, and even of troops? no one being ignorant, that the beſt and moſt numerous forces which Spain had in its ſervice were drawn from Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy; or elſe were Germans, Switzers, and Walloons.

Every thing therefore concurring to promote ſucceſs, and good magazines being placed in proper parts of the paſſage, the king was on the point of marching, at the head of his army, directly to Mezieres; from whence, taking his rout by Clinchamp, Orchimont, Beauraign, Offais, Longpré, &c. after having cauſed five forts to be erected in theſe quarters, and therein placed his two thouſand men deſtined for that purpoſe, with the neceſſary proviſions and ammunition, he would, near Duren and Stavelo, have joined the two armies, which the princes of Germany and the United Provinces would have cauſed to march thither; and then beginning by occupying all thoſe paſſages through which the enemy might find entrance into the territories of Juliers and Cleves, theſe principalities, which were a pretext for the armament, would conſequently have immediately ſubmitted to him, and would have been ſequeſtrated, till it ſhould appear how the Emperor and the king of Spain would act, in regard to the deſigns of the confederate princes.

This was the moment fixed on to publiſh and make known throughout Europe, the declarations, in form of manifeſtos, which were to open the eyes of all in regard to their true intereſts, and the real motives which had cauſed Henry and the confederate princes thus to take up arms. Theſe manifeſtos

feſtos were compoſed with the greateſt care; a ſpirit of juſtice, honeſty, and good faith, of diſintereſtedneſs and good policy, were every where apparent in them: and, without wholly diſcovering the ſeveral changes intended to be made in Europe, it was intimated, that their common intereſt had thus compelled its princes to arm themſelves; and not only to prevent the houſe of Auſtria from getting poſſeſſion of Cleves, but alſo to diveſt her of the United Provinces, and of whatever elſe ſhe unjuſtly poſſeſſed; that their intentions were to diſtribute theſe territories among ſuch princes and ſtates as were the weakeſt; that the deſign was ſuch, as could not ſurely give occaſion to a war in Europe; that, though armed, the kings of France and the North rather choſe to be mediators in the cauſes of complaint which Europe, through them, made againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and only ſought amicably to determine all differences ſubſiſting among the ſeveral princes; and that whatever was done on this occaſion, ſhould be not only with the unanimous conſent of all theſe powers, but even of all their people, who were hereby invited to give in their opinions to the confederate princes: ſuch alſo would have been the ſubſtance of the circular letters which Henry and the aſſociated princes would at the ſame time have ſent to all places ſubject to them; that ſo the people being informed, and joining their ſuffrages, an univerſal cry from all parts of Chriſtendom would have been raiſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

As it was determined to avoid with the utmoſt caution, whatever might give umbrage to any one, and Henry being deſirous to give ſtill more convincing proofs to his confederates, that to promote their true intereſts was his ſole ſtudy and deſign; to the letters already mentioned he would have added others to be written to different courts, particularly to the electors of Cologn and Treves, the biſhops of Munſter, Liege, and Paderborn; and the duke and ducheſs of Lorrain; and this conduct would have

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have been purſued, in regard even to our enemies, in the letters which were to be written to the archduke, and the infanta his wife, to the Emperor himſelf, and to all the Auſtrian princes, requeſting them, from the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing motives, to embrace the only right and reaſonable party; in all places, nothing would have been neglected, to inſtruct, convince, and gain confidence; the execution of all engagements, and the diſtribution or ſequeſtration of whatever territories might require to be ſo diſpoſed, would have been ſtrictly, and even ſcrupulouſly, obſerved; force would never have been employed, till arguments, intreaties, embaſſies, and negotiations, ſhould have failed: finally, even in the uſe of arms, it would have been not as enemies, but pacifiers; the queen would have advanced as far as Metz, accompanied by the whole court, and attended by ſuch pomp and equipage as were ſuitable only to peace.

Henry had projected a new method of diſcipline in his camp, which, very probably, would have produced the good effects intended by it, eſpecially if his example had been imitated by the other princes his allies; he intended to have created four marſhals of France, or at leaſt four camp marſhals, whoſe ſole care ſhould have been to maintain univerſal order, diſcipline, and ſubordination: the firſt of theſe would have had the inſpection of the cavalry, the ſecond of the French infantry, the third of the foreign forces, and the fourth of whatever concerned the artillery, ammunition, and proviſions; and the king would have required an exact and regular account from theſe two officers, of whatever was tranſacted by them in their reſpective diviſions. He applied himſelf with equal ardour to make all military virtues to be revered and honoured in his army, by granting all employs and places of truſt to merit only, by preferring good officers, by rewarding the ſoldiers, by puniſhing blaſphemies and other impious language, by ſhewing a regard both for

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for his own troops and thoſe of his confederates, by ſtifling a ſpirit of diſcord, cauſed by a difference of religions; and, finally, by uniting emulation with that harmony of ſentiments which contributes more than all the reſt to obtain victory.

The conſequence of this enterpriſe with regard to war, would have depended on the manner in which the Emperor and the king of Spain would receive the propoſitions and reply to the manifeſtos of the confederate princes; it ſeems probable that the Emperor, ſubmitting to force, would have conſented to every thing: I am even perſuaded he would have been the firſt to demand an amicable interview with the king of France, that he might at leaſt extricate himſelf with honour out of the difficulties in which he would have been involved; and he would probably have been ſatisfied with aſſurances, that the imperial dignity, with all its rights and prerogatives, ſhould be ſecured to him, for his life. The arch-dukes had made great advances; they engaged to permit the king, with all his troops, to enter their territories and towns, provided they committed no hoſtilities in them, and paid punctually, in all places, for whatever they required: if theſe appearances were not deceitful, Spain, being abandoned by all, muſt, though unwillingly, have ſubmitted to the will of its conquerors.

But it may be ſuppoſed, that all the branches of the houſe of Auſtria would, on this occaſion, have united, and, in defence of their common intereſts, would have uſed all the efforts of which they were capable. In this caſe, Henry and the confederate princes, by declaring war in form againſt their enemies, and depriving the Spaniards of all communications, eſpecially with the Low Countries; and having, as we have ſaid, united all their forces, given audience to the princes of Germany, promiſed aſſiſtance to the people of Hungary and Bohemia who ſhould come to implore it of them; and finally, ſecured the territory of Cleves: theſe princes, I ſay,

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would then have cauſed their three armies to advance towards Bale and Straſbourg to ſupport the Switzers, who after having, for form's ſake, aſked leave of the Emperor, would have declared for the union. The United Provinces, though at a conſiderable diſtance from theſe armies, would yet have been ſufficiently defended by the flying camp, which Henry would have cauſed to advance towards them; by the arms of England and the North, to whoſe protection they would be entruſted: by the care which at firſt would have been taken to get poſſeſſion of Charlemont, Maeſtrich, Namur, and other places near the Meuſe; and finally, by the naval forces of theſe provinces, which, in conjunction with thoſe of England, would have reigned abſolute maſters at ſea.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the war could have fallen only in Italy or Germany; and ſuppoſing it to have happened in the former, the three armies of Henry, the prince of Orange, and the princes of Germany, quitting Franché-Compté, after having fortified it in the ſame manner as the Low Countries, by a ſmall body of troops, would have marched with their forces towards the Alps, where they would have been joined by thoſe of Leſdiguieres, the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; who then would have declared themſelves openly; the duke of Savoy, by requiring a portion for his ducheſs, equal to what had been given to the infanta Iſabella; and the other powers, by demanding the execution of the agreement in regard to Navarre, Naples, and Sicily: and thus, from all parts of Europe, war would be declared againſt Spain. If the enemy ſhould appear inclined to draw the war into Germany, then the confederates, having left a conſiderable number of troops in Italy, would have penetrated even into the heart of Germany, where, from Hungary and Bohemia, they would have been ſtrengthened by thoſe powerful ſuccours which were there preparing.

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The other events, in conſequence of theſe diſpoſitions, can only be conjectured, becauſe they would greatly depend on the degree of alacrity with which the enemy ſhould oppoſe the rapidity of our conqueſts, and on the readineſs with which the confederates, eſpecially thoſe at the extremity of Germany, ſhould make good their engagements. Nevertheleſs, I am perſuaded, that from the diſpoſitions as here laid down, there are none but muſt regard the houſe of Auſtria as penetrated by the blow whoſe force was for ever to annihilate its power, and open a paſſage to the execution of the other projected deſigns, to which this attack could only be conſidered as the preliminary: I will add too (and here the voice of all Europe will vindicate me from the imputation of partiality) that if the force neceſſary to render ſuch an enterprize ſucceſsful does always depend on the perſon of the chief who conducts it, this could not have been better conferred, than upon Henry the Great. With a valour alone capable of ſurmounting the greateſt difficulties; and a preſence of mind, which neither neglected nor loſt any opportunities of advantage; with a prudence which without precipitating any thing, or attempting too many things at a time, could regularly connect them together, and perfectly knew what might and what might not be the reſult of time; with a conſummate experience; and finally, with all thoſe other great qualifications, whether as a warriour or politician, which were ſo remarkable in this prince; what is there which might not have been obtained? This was the meaning of that modeſt device which this great king cauſed to be inſcribed on ſome of the laſt medals that were ſtruck under his reign, *Nil ſine conſilio.*

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SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY, after his RETREAT.

THE firſt time we find the duke of Sully mentioned by the hiſtorians after his retreat, is upon his appearance at the aſſembly of proteſtants, held at Châtelleraut, in the year 1611. His mind was ſtill embittered by the treatment he had met with at court; he was well informed that the duke of Bouillon, who, contrary to his real intereſt and character, was preparing to go thither to ſupport the queen's rights againſt the proteſtants, had put himſelf at the head of his enemies, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the government of Poitou, and of his poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance, which the queen regent had promiſed to beſtow upon him, in reward for the ſervices ſhe expected from him upon this occaſion; it is not therefore ſurpriſing that, in ſuch a conjuncture, the duke of Sully ſhould act there with vigour and ſpirit. Thoſe who favour the duke of Bouillon have, through reſentment that he failed in his attempt, accuſed the dukes of Sully and Rohan of ſeeking to rekindle the war between the proteſtants and the catholics; but they are the only perſons who ſpeak in this manner. All the other writers agree that the conduct of M. de Sully was wholly free from blame; and indeed his enemies acted with ſo much heat and malignity againſt him, that the author of the French Mercury *, whom I ſhall fol-

* Anno 1611, p. 75.

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low in this period of the duke of Sully's Hiſtory, condemns him for not taking the only meaſures that remained to ſecure his repoſe. Here follows a ſhort account of what paſſed, with regard to the duke of Sully, at the aſſembly of Châtelleraut, or of Samur; for his enemies, being apprehenſive that he would be too powerful if it was held at Châtelleraut, cauſed it to be transferred to Samur.

The duke of Bouillon making no ſecret of his intentions to reduce the calviniſts his brethren, and the duke of Sully in particular, to the laſt extremity, the common intereſt re-united the latter with Du-Pleſſis-Mornay and the principal proteſtant miniſters, who, till then, as has been ſeen through the courſe of theſe Memoirs, had acted with great reſerve towards him, and great diſtruſt of his ſentiments. They began by refuſing the dignity of preſident of their aſſembly to the duke of Bouillon, and conferred it on Du-Pleſſis; and made him ſenſible how much they were offended at the part he had acted, by continually oppoſing him; ſo that he could not obtain any of thoſe demands which might probably have been granted to an agent of the catholic religion, which was a convincing proof that the queen regent committed a great error when ſhe made choice of the duke of Bouillon to ſerve her on this occaſion. However, a kind of reconciliation was made between him and the duke of Sully, through the interpoſition of Du-Pleſſis; and from that time the duke found no more obſtacles to hinder him from intereſting the proteſtant body in his particular cauſe, which became one of the chief ſubjects of their deliberations.

The aſſembly addreſſed him, entreated, and enjoined him (theſe are the terms made uſe of by the French Mercury) not to reſign his employments, promiſed to ſupport him, &c. To which the duke of Sully anſwered by a ſpeech, in which he aſked the advice of the aſſembly upon four things. 1ſt, If he ought to take no notice of the proceedings of

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his enemies with reſpect to him? 2d, If, on the contrary, he ought himſelf to make a demand of being again reſtored to his places? 3d, If it was more eligible to accept of a recompence for them; and, laſtly, If this recompence ought to be honour anp ſecurity rather than profit? For it was to conceal the deſign they had of ruining him entirely, that the court made a propoſal to him to receive a marſhal's ſtaff, or a conſiderable ſum of money in exchange for his poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance, and his government of Poitou. M. de Sully concluded this diſcourſe, in which he could not forbear mingling ſome complaints of the rigour which the council of the queen regent uſed towards him, with excuſing himſelf for not having ſooner laid before them the hardſhips he ſuffered on account of the great difficulty he found to perſuade himſelf that there were really ſuch plots formed againſt him, as well as of his fears of diſpleaſing ſome perſons to whom he owed all imaginable reſpect.

This diſcourſe was as agreeable to the proteſtants as it was diſpleaſing to Bullion and the reſt of the queen's agents. In their anſwer they gave indeed very high praiſes to the duke of Sully's adminiſtration; but they taxed him with being ungenerous, and of having entertained a deſign to force the queen to reſtore him to his place in the miniſtry. M. de Sully anſwered this accuſation by another remonſtrance, in which he referred his intereſts to the aſſembly. The duke of Bouillon perceiving what was likely to be the event, took off the maſque a ſecond time, and began to cabal with all the proteſtants, whom he thought there was a poſſibility of gaining. In effect, he drew over ſome; but all his endeavours to gain the duke of Rohan were fruitleſs: and having neither been able, with all his addreſs, to hinder the greater number from adhering to the party of his adverſary, or to ſuſpend the concluſion, they paſſed on to their deliberations, the reſult of which was, that they would aſſiſt M. de Sully, if his

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his adminiſtration was enquired into, *by unlawful ways.*

Bullion, and the reſt of the queen's creatures, put every thing in motion to obtain a recantation or reſtriction. As for the duke of Bouillon, he broke out into rage and exclamation: he gave the moſt violent counſels to the queen, who contented herſelf, however, with ſending letters in the king's name to the aſſembly, which Du-Pleſſis, for fear of the conſequences they might produce, thought proper to ſuppreſs. They now had recourſe to mediums and modifications. All the other articles were amicably ſettled, and that which regarded M. de Sully was ſuffered to reſt, becauſe it was apparent to the whole world that they could not, with any ſhadow of juſtice, accuſe him of being an unfaithful miniſter, much leſs an enemy to the ſtate; and becauſe the duke of Bouillon, being diſguſted with the queen for diſappointing him in his expectations of reward, ceaſed on a ſudden to act with the ſame heat and animoſity. The duke of Sully, therefore, remained in the ſame ſituation as when he retired from court.

The following year the war between the rwo religions was upon the point of being reſumed, by an incident for which our Memoirs ſeem to prepare us. Braſſac, whom his majeſty had appointed to be king's lieutenant of St. John D'Angely, after the death of Des-Ageaux, was driven out of that city by the duke of Rohan, whoſe whole conduct, from that time, ſufficiently declared that his ſentiments were very different from thoſe of his father-in-law. Although the regent was then in a condition to give him law, and all the proteſtants were greatly in fear of her, yet this affair was terminated wholly to the duke's advantage, who obtained all that he demanded. M. de Sully ſigned the agreement, which was made in the ſynode of Privas, between the duke of Rohan on one ſide, and the queen's agents on the other. This was all the ſhare he had in this great rupture.

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The two following letters, which I have tranſcribed from the originals, in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully, prove that the queen-mother had recourſe to Maximilian on many occaſions, and that he laboured with great diligence to prevent or appeaſe the troubles which afterwards aroſe between the princes and the grandees of the kingdom.

A Letter from the Queen-mother to the Duke of SULLY.

"COUSIN,

"I have ſent the ſieur de Bethune your brother "to confer with you concerning the preſent occur- "rences, and have charged him to aſſure you of "my affection, and of my reliance on the conti- "nuance of yours, for the ſervice of the king, "monſieur my ſon. You may give abſolute credit "to what he ſhall ſay to you on both theſe ſubjects, "as you would do to the perſon of your good couſin

Paris, Feb. 12, 1614. "MARY."

It is ſuperſcribed, "To my Couſin, the Duke "of Sully, peer, and grand maſter of the ordnance "of France."

Another Letter from the Queen to M. de SULLY.

"COUSIN,

"Having received your letter of the 1ſt inſtant "on the 9th, I delayed anſwering it till my arrival "in this province, to the end that, being better "informed of the particular things which hap- "pened, and the ſtate affairs are in at preſent, I "might tell you with more certainty my opinion of "them all in general: but I have found here ſo "much confuſion and tumult, ſo many complaints "and infringements of the agreement of St. Me- "noult, that I confeſs I know not where to begin,

"or

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" or what to desire you to do for me upon this oc-
" casion. Declarations are every where made, and
" assurances given me of zeal and fidelity for the
" service of the king my son, and the public good,
" which are indeed very acceptable; but I find
" effects so contrary to all this, that I no sooner
" entertain any favourable hopes, than they vanish
" in an instant. I do not write this upon your own
" particular account; for I depend upon your
" affection to the good of your country and our
" own happiness, in proportion to the experience I
" have had of it, and the assurance you have given
" me; but I write to condole with you upon the
" changeableness and uncertainty of such proceed-
" ings. I have within these two days received your
" last letter here; the bearer of this will tell you
" what I think of it.

" I do not doubt but that you have, with a free-
" dom and zeal becoming a good subject and an ho-
" nest man, made those remonstrances to my nephew
" the prince of Condé, which you have given me
" an account of in your letter, and I am rejoiced
" to hear that he has taken them well of you: but,
" if he approves of your advice, what hinders him
" from following it? By so doing he will get rid of
" those perplexities in which you tell me he is in-
" volved; he will receive of me every reasonable
" proof he can desire of my good-will, and all the
" respect and deference due to his quality. If to
" assure him of this, any thing depends upon me,
" I shall be glad to know it, and to have your
" opinion: but I have not yet received those letters,
" which he told you he wrote to me upon that sub-
" ject. I wish they may be such as may give me
" that satisfaction, both with respect to him and his
" friends, for the service of the king my son, as he
" has often made me hope for, and even request;
" and, this done, I shall make him such returns as
" he shall have just reason to be contented with: as
" likewise all those who shall follow his example.

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" I have not yet ſeen the duke of Vendôme; ſo " that I know not what I ought to hope from his " obedience; for I have advice that he continues to " fortify Lamballe, and has engaged a great num- " ber of ſoldiers, who have ſerved, or rather diſ- " ſerved him during theſe laſt commotions, and eſpe- " cially ſince the contract of St. Menoult, to which " the king my ſon and myſelf are endeavouring to " apply the neceſſary remedies, by the advice of the " ſtates of the country, which we are to propoſe " to-morrow. As I promiſe myſelf that you will " always continue faithful to the intereſts of the king " my ſon, and that you will readily embrace every " opportunity of ſerving him, you may make what " uſe you think proper of this for that purpoſe; " and I beſeech God, couſin, &c. Written at " Nantz, Auguſt 18, 1614.

" Your good couſin,

" MARY."

In the year 1616 the revolt of the proteſtants broke out. On this occaſion the duke of Sully gave a convincing proof that he preferred the welfare of the ſtate to the intereſt of his party, and even to his own particular intereſt; for, when it was propoſed to him to re-unite the party of the prince of Condé with that of the proteſtant, a deſign which, according to all appearance, would have ruined the kingdom, the duke of Sully, whoſe ſuffrage was of the utmoſt conſequence, refuſed abſolutely to give it, and remained conſtantly attached to the king. Let us ſee what marſhal Baſſompierre ſays on this ſubject in his Memoirs. M. de Sully, ever ſolicitous for the good of the ſtate, maintained himſelf in the eſteem and reſpect of both parties, and endeavoured to ſet them right, as long as they could ſubſiſt in the ſtate they were, by ſending informations ſometimes to the queen-mother, and ſometimes to the prince; and, on Auguſt the 26th, the

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the duke of Sully demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her, that matters were brought to ſuch extremity, that it was not poſſible they could continue eight days longer in the ſame ſituation; that as the ballance was now held, the whole authority muſt neceſſarily fall into the hands of the prince; that it was ſtill in her own choice whether to keep or ſuffer herſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of her's. He declared that ſhe was not ſecure in Paris, and that ſhe and her children would be ſafer in the field, with a thouſand horſe, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobles and people were thus enraged. He ſaid, that his duty, and the obligations he had to the deceaſed king, required that he ſhould make her theſe remonſtrances; and that, if there was no other remedy for the preſent evils but the loſs of his life, he would ſacrifice it willingly for the preſervation of the king, herſelf, and the ſtate; then, taking leave of her, he implored her to conſider well what he had ſaid: and added, that, if ſhe did not apply the only, fit, and reaſonable remedy to theſe commotions, ſhe would be anſwerable for all the conſequences of them, ſince ſhe had been warned beforehand of what was likely to happen."

The author of the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son* renders, in ſpite of himſelf, this juſtice to the duke of Sully. " M. de Sully, ſays he, demanded " an audience of the queen, that he might confer " with her upon an affair, which he ſaid was of no " leſs importance than the preſervation of the king's " life and her's. The queen had taken phyſic that " day; but, upon a matter of ſuch conſequence, " ſhe thought ſhe could not diſpenſe with herſelf " from ſeeing him. The king happened, by chance, " to be preſent; as were likewiſe the ſieurs Man- " got and Barbin. The duke of Sully then made " a ſpeech, in which he expatiated upon the bad

* Tom. II. p. 61, 62.

" deſigns

" deſigns of the princes, and the inevitable dangers " which he foreſaw for the king. The ſieurs Man- " got and Barbin told him, that it was not enough " to diſcover an evil; he ought likewiſe to propoſe " ſome proper remedies to obviate it. To this he " only added, that the attempt was hazardous, and " that they muſt expect to ſee very fatal conſe- " quences; then, quitting the queen's cloſet, he " ſaid, Sire, and you, madam, I entreat your ma- " jeſties to think well on what I have ſaid: I have " diſcharged my conſcience; would to God you " were in the midſt of twelve hundred horſe: I ſee " no other remedy." Saying this he went away.

It muſt be confeſſed, that to the hatred which this writer bore the duke of Sully, is owing the following recital *: " The prince of Condé being " arreſted, the miniſters told the queen, that, un- " leſs ſhe releaſed him, all was loſt. M. de Sully, " whoſe vehemence of temper would not allow him " time for reflection, nor to give his advice in the " preſent exigence on what might be apprehended " for the future, without blaming paſt proceedings, " ſaid, that whoever had counſelled the queen to " arreſt the prince, had ruined the ſtate. The " queen replied, that ſhe was aſtoniſhed to hear him " ſpeak in that manner; and that he muſt certainly " have loſt his reaſon, ſince he did not remember " what he himſelf had ſaid to the king and her " but three days before. Theſe words threw him " into ſuch confuſion that he withdrew immediately, " to the great aſtoniſhment of all the lords who " were preſent. His wife endeavoured afterwards " to excuſe him, by alleging that it was the terrors " he laboured under at that time which had forced " him to ſpeak ſo, having been informed that the " princes and nobles of the prince of Conde's party " had reſolved to murder him, through a ſuſpicion " that he was the cauſe of the prince's detention, " by the diſcoveries he had made of their deſigns."

* Tom. II. p. 94.

Without

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Without examining here whether the duke of Sully contradicted himſelf in the advice he gave the queen at theſe two different times, we ſhall grant that the reſolution they had taken to arreſt the prince of Condé, was both prudent and neceſſary; and the inference I ſhall draw from theſe circumſtances is, that this miniſter never ſwerved from his attachment to the intereſt of the king and the public good, on an occaſion ſo favourable to the proteſtant party, where he himſelf ran great riſks.

He obſerved the ſame conduct during the reſt of his life. He was inveſted with the king's authority in the aſſemblies of Rouen and Loudun: he ſupported, like a good citizen and a loyal ſubject, his majeſty's party againſt the proteſtants, when the war was declared under the adminiſtration of cardinal Richelieu: he was preſent at the ſiege of Montauban and other encounters: he even performed all the functions of grand-maſter of the ordnance at the ſiege of St. Jean D'Angely, and the train of artillery there was furniſhed and conducted with the greateſt care. He kept this office till his death, although the writer of the duke of Bouillon's life ſays that it was taken from him. Lewis XIII. gave him a marſhal's ſtaff, September 18, 1634. The preceding year Pope Urban VIII. wrote him a letter in Latin, to which M. de Sully ſent an anſwer by his grand-ſon the prince of Henrichemont, and which produced a ſecond brief from the Pope, in Latin likewiſe, dated July 16, 1633.

In the ſame year he loſt the marquis de Roſny, his eldeſt ſon, whoſe conduct had been a continual ſource of affliction to him, not only becauſe the marquis followed none of the wiſe counſels he gave him, and joined himſelf to the enemies of the ſtate, but becauſe the duke of Sully felt, in more ways than one, the extreme diſorder of his ſon's affairs. And here it is neceſſary we ſhould give ſome account of the duke of Sully's domeſtic concerns, which will ſerve to explain ſeveral parts of theſe Memoirs where

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where the marquis of Roſny is mentioned, and particularly what is ſaid of him in the twenty-ninth book.

The duke of Sully, beſides two daughters, the eldeſt of whom was married to the duke of Rohan, and the youngeſt to the marquis of Mirepoix, had three ſons; Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Roſny, he had by his firſt wife Anne de Courtenay; and Cæſar and Francis de Bethune, by his ſecond, Rachel de Cochefilet. The great eſtates he was poſſeſſed of being acquired ſince his ſecond marriage, the children by that marriage ſeemed entituled to the largeſt ſhare of them; nevertheleſs, the duke of Sully thinking himſelf obliged to ſecure to the marquis de Roſny ſuch an eſtate as might enable him to ſupport the grandeur of his houſe, of which he was the eldeſt; to the poſts of grand-maſter of the ordnance, ſuperintendant of the fortifications, and to the governments of Mante and Gergeau, the reverſion of which he obtained for him, and which he eſtimated at ſixty thouſand livres a year, he added, among other gifts, a donation of lands producing a yearly revenue of fifty thouſand livres, conſiſting of the duchy of Sully, the marquiſate of Roſny, the principality of Henrichemont and Boiſbelle, with all their dependencies, the property of which, however, he reſerved to himſelf during his life. The deed of entail, which is dated March 17, 1609, has in it this ſingular clauſe: "That on the ſuppoſition that none of thoſe, whether male or female, choſe to fulfil the aforeſaid terms and conditions, the ſaid lord, who makes this ſettlement, gives, by the preſent writing, the above-ſaid lands to the king or his deſcendants, according to their ſeniority, on condition that the ſaid lands ſhall never be diſunited from the crown; and that he who ſhall poſſeſs them, if he be not the king or the king's eldeſt ſon, ſhall be obliged, and his deſcendants after him, together with his own

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" own name and arms, to bear the ſirname and " arms of Bethune."

But afterwards being ſolicitous to prevent any occaſion for diſunion in his family, M. de Sully the following year made two other donations and conveyances of his other poſſeſſions in the ſame form, and by an act of the ſame kind, in favour of Cæſar and Francis de Bethune his youngeſt ſons: namely, of the land and lordſhip of Villebon to Cæſar; and to Francis de Bethune, called count of Orval, of the lands of Montrond, Orval, Bruyeres, Epineuil, Beaucheſal, La-Roche-Guillebaut, and Le-Châtelet, in Berry. The value of each of theſe donations is eſtimated at ten thouſand livres a year. It is there ſtipulated that the fortifications, arms, ammunition, and furniture, as well thoſe which were in all theſe caſtles when the donation was made, as thoſe which ſhould be found there at the death of the duke of Sully, ſhould be comprehended in the donation; and if either of his two ſons, to whom they were made over, ſhould die without heirs, his portion was to go entire to the ſurvivor. This happened four years after; for, Cæſar de Bethune dying unmarried in 1614, the count of Orval re-united in himſelf the two articles of conveyance. In 1620 his father married him to Jacqueline de Caumont, daughter of the grand-marſhal de La-Force, and grand-daughter of the firſt marſhal Biron; and he confirmed, by the marriage-contract, the act of entail, made in the year 1610.

Before and after the duke of Sully had made theſe diſpoſitions of his eſtates, the marquis of Roſny continued to hold his poſſeſſions jointly with his father. This community of goods was wholly to the advantage of the ſon, his mother's eſtate alone being not ſufficient to ſupply his expences: but it expoſed the duke of Sully to the proſecution of his ſon's creditors. The duke paid his debts ſeveral times; but they became ſo conſiderable, by the prodigality and bad management of the marquis of Roſny, that

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he took a reſolution, at length, to leave him to himſelf. Such was the beginning of his domeſtic troubles.

This was ſoon followed by others more conſiderable; for after the death of the marquis of Roſny, his creditors taking the advantage of the community of goods, made an attempt to ſeize upon ſome of the poſſeſſions of the duke of Sully. The prince of Henrichemont*, his grandſon, joined with them to annul theſe conveyances, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the circumſtances the duke of Sully was then in, who, to get himſelf clear of the prince of Condé, had been obliged to do and undo many eſtabliſhments, and had gained, and ſold, and gained again, at ſeveral times, a great part of the lands contained in thoſe conveyances; ſuch as, Villebon, Montrond, &c. This kept the duke of Sully in continual perplexity with diſputes and law-ſuits, part of which, however, were amicably ſettled by the marriage of the prince of Henrichemont with the daughter of the chancellor Seguier†, in the year 1639; upon which the duke of Sully, who was then upon good terms with the prince of Condé, having Villebon reſtored, and all his other acquiſitions ſecured to him, made over again, in the year 1640, a new conveyance, confirming the former, by which he gave other lands, in the place of thoſe that might be alienated.

The diſcontent of the prince of Henrichemont broke out again upon this new conveyance, and ſet on foot a law-ſuit, of which Lewis XIII, and his firſt miniſter, took the cognizance to themſelves, and which continued during the years 1640 and 1641; the petitions and principal pieces of this ſuit have been printed: the duke of Sully com-

* Maximilian-Francis de Bethune, the third of that name, duke of Sully, prince of Henrichemont and Boſbelle, marquis of Roſny, lieutenant-general for the government of Dauphiny and the Païis-Vexin, governor of Mante and Meulan: he died in 1661.

† Charlotte Seguier, daughter of the chancellor Seguier.

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plains there bitterly, that his grandſon and the chancellor Seguier, who ſupported him, ſought to take advantage of ſome failures in the formalities of the ſettlements, unavoidable perhaps in affairs ſo long and ſo complicated. But it would be improper here to enter into a diſcuſſion of this point of the law. Suppoſing that all poſſible right was not on the ſide of the duke of Sully, yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the voice of nature, and a principle of gratitude, ought to have carried it in favour of a man who had raiſed his family to ſuch a degree of ſplendor: however that may be, the duke of Sully had the mortification to find himſelf, by a decree of council given in December, 1641, obliged to revoke his conveyance of four of thoſe eſtates which had been given in the room of the former that had been alienated. He was then eighty-two years old, and it is probable that, jealous as he was of the paternal authority, and convinced in his own mind, that in all he had done he had exactly followed the laws of equity, this ſtroke affected him ſo ſenſibly, that it contributed to ſhorten his life: he died eight days afterwards at Villebon, December 22, 1641.

His bowels were put into a kind of leaden urn, and depoſited in the vault of the collegiate church of Saint-Anne in Villebon, and upon the vault over it this inſcription:

Here lie the bowels of the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious lord, Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, peer and marſhal of France.

His body was to be carried to Aumône, or Hotel Dieu of Nogent, but the mauſoleum which was erecting for him there, not being finiſhed, it was laid in a leaden coffin, and placed in the duke of Sully's chamber in the caſtle of Villebon, where he died. The cielings, the floors, and walls of this apartment, were hung with black cloth: it was left there expoſed to view, under a canopy of black velvet.

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velvet, with bands of ſilver ſtuff, and the arms of Bethune at the four corners.

In the mean time, the ducheſs of Sully cauſed a cloſet to be built in the lower gallery of the caſtle of Villebon, in order to place a ſtatue in it, which ſhe deſigned to erect to the memory of her huſband; and for this purpoſe ſhe bought a block of white marble, the fineſt that could be procured, and ſent for one of the moſt excellent ſculptors of that time from Italy. In the front of this cloſet is written, in large characters, the ten commandments, as they ſtand in the book of Exodus; on one of the ſides, the epitaph of the deceaſed; upon the other, his coat of arms, with all the enſigns of his office; the top, and all the reſt of the cloſet, is filled with pictures, emblems, and mottos, which it is not neceſſary to deſcribe here: it is enlightened by a long window, which takes up the farther end. The ſtatue is placed in the midſt of the cloſet, ſtanding upon a pedeſtal of white marble likewiſe; it is a little larger than the life, and repreſents the duke of Sully, armed from his neck to his feet, with a crown of lawrel upon his head, and the ducal mantle on his ſhoulders; in his right hand, ſtretched out, he holds the marſhal's ſtaff; and his left is leaning upon his coat of arms: the marſhal's ſtaff, as well as his caſque, adorned with a plume of feathers, which lies at the left ſide of the ſtatue, are cut out of the ſame block. This whole piece is ſo beautiful and ſo highly finiſhed, that it may vie with the ancient monuments of Greece and Rome. Over the door of the cloſet is written, in cartouche:

Rachel de Cochefilet, Ducheſs Dowager of Sully, after the death of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, her huſband, with whom ſhe lived forty-nine years in marriage, to honour his memory, and in teſtimony of her grief for his loſs, has erected this ſtatue, in the year 1642.

The body of this lady being, after her death, depoſited by that of her huſband, the mauſoleum, which

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which we are going to describe, was common to them both: it is a round chapel, built on the side of that of Saint James de l'Aumône, or the Hospital of Nogent, called from their name Nogent le Bethune; it has no communication with the church, because the duke and duchess of Sully were so unhappy as to die in the principles of the pretended reformed religion. Under this chapel is a vault, where both their bodies are interred. The walls on the inside of this chapel are adorned with the coats of arms and alliances of the house of Bethune; the dome is only coloured with a plain blue, sprinkled with flowers de luce: the effigies of the duke and duchess are of white marble, as large as the life; they are kneeling upon a pedestal, three feet in heighth, with their faces turned towards the east: by an inscription upon the pedestal we are told, that this work, which is very well executed, was the performance of B. Boudin, in the year 1642. Behind the statue of the duke of Sully, is this inscription:

Here lies the body of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious, Lord, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, who shared in all the fortunes of king Henry the Great, among which was that memorable battle which gave the crown to the Victor; where, by his valour, he gained the white standard, and took several prisoners of distinction. He was by that Great Monarch, in reward of his many virtues and distinguished merit, honoured with the dignities of Duke, Peer, and Marshal of France, with the governments of the Upper and Lower Poitou, with the office of Grand Master of the Ordnance, in which, bearing the thunder of his Jupiter, he took the castle of Montmelian, till then believed impregnable, and many other fortresses of Savoy; he was likewise made Superintendant of the Finances, which office he discharged singly with a wise and prudent œconomy, and continued his faith-

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ful ſervices till that unfortunate day when the Cæſar of the French nation loſt his life by the hand of a parricide. After the lamented death of that Great King, he retired from public affairs, and paſſed the remainder of his life in eaſe and tranquillity. He died at the caſtle of Villebon, December 22, 1641, aged eighty-two years.—Here alſo lies the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious lady, Madame Rachel de Cochefilet, his wife, who died at Paris in the ninety-ſeventh year of her age, in the year 1659.

The way to this chapel is through a long court, planted with a walk of elms; at the entrance of which is a portal, of very beautiful architecture, with the arms of the houſe of Bethuné in raiſed work, and all the additions belonging to the arms of the duke of Sully. The houſe of Bethune bears, *d'argent, facé de gueules*, ſupported by two ſavages armed with clubs.

Before Villebon was reſtored to the duke of Sully he divided his reſidence between Sully, La Chapelle-d'Angillon, which is a very fine houſe and barony dependant on the duchy of Sully, and Roſny, which of all his houſes, he moſt embelliſhed, as he reckoned upon this being always kept in his family: he was building the wings when he had the misfortune to loſe the king his benefactor; and, as a witneſs of his grief for that loſs, he left thoſe wings imperfect, and in the ſame condition they were in at the time of that ſad event. But when he became again poſſeſſed of Villebon, the beauty of that caſtle, its ſituation in a moſt agreeable country, its contiguity to Paris, for Villebon is not more than twenty leagues diſtant from that city, and the advantage of being in the center of ſeveral great eſtates which he had purchaſed with the money ariſing from the ſale of thoſe he had been obliged to part with to the prince of Condé: all theſe conſiderations determined him to fix his ſtay there during ſix whole months of the year,

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year, which were the autumn and the winter: he uſed, in the ſpring, to make ſome ſhort journeys to Sully; but that place was become very diſagreeable to him, on account of the conduct of his eldeſt ſon: the reſt of the year he paſſed at La-Chapelle-d'Angillon, at Roſny, and his other eſtates.

The life he led in his retreat was accompanied with decency, grandeur, and even majeſty; ſuch as might be expected from a character ſo grave and ſo full of dignity as his. Beſides a great many gentlemen and pages, by whom he was attended, and ladies and maids of honour about the perſon of the ducheſs of Sully, he had one company of guards, with their officers, and another of Swiſs; and ſo great a number of domeſtics, that there are but few examples of ſubjects who have kept ſo grand and ſo numerous an houſhold. Monſieur, the preſent duke of Sully, has converſed with the ſon of an antient ſurgeon belonging to his anceſtor the duke of Sully, the laſt of this branch, who died at the age of eighty-eight years, and who was about fourteen when the duke of Sully, of whom we are ſpeaking, died: this man told him, that he had accompanied his father in his viſits to the ſick in the caſtle of Villebon; and had reckoned fourſcore of them, without perceiving that the ſervice of the houſe ſuffered the leaſt diſorder or delay upon that account.

M. de Sully always continued his cuſtom of riſing very early in the morning; after ſome time ſpent in prayers and reading, he ſet himſelf to work with his four ſecretaries: this work conſiſted in putting his papers in order, in digeſting his Memoirs, in anſwering the ſeveral letters he received, in regulating his domeſtic affairs, and, laſtly, in taking cognizance of thoſe which related either to his governments or his poſts; for he continued, till his death, governor of the Upper and Lower Poitou and of Rochelle, grand maſter of the ordnance, grand ſurveyor of France, and ſuperintendant of the for-

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tifications. He uſually paſſed the whole morning in theſe occupations; except that he ſometimes went out to take the air half an hour or an hour before dinner; they then rung a great bell which was upon the bridge, to give notice that he was going out; the greateſt part of his houſhold ranged themſelves on each ſide, from the bottom of the ſtair-caſe to the door of his apartment; his equerries, gentlemen, and officers, walked before him, preceded by two Swiſs with their halberts; the duke came next, with ſome of his friends and relations on each ſide of him, with whom he converſed; then followed the officers of his French and Swiſs guards; and the proceſſion was always cloſed by four Swiſs.

At his return, he went into the hall, where he dined: this was a very large room, in which he had cauſed the moſt memorable actions of his own life, together with thoſe of Henry the great, to be painted; at the upper end of the table two armed chairs were placed for the duke and ducheſs; all his children, married as well as unmarried, of whatever rank or dignity, had only ſtools; for at that time, the ſubordination between parents and their children was ſo great, that they were not permitted to ſit in their preſence, without being commanded to do ſo. His table was ſerved with taſte and magnificence; he admitted to it none but the nobility in his neighbourhood, ſome of the principal gentlemen, and the ladies and maids of honour who belonged to the ducheſs of Sully: except his gueſts, all the company retired as ſoon as the diſſert was brought in. After dinner they withdrew into a cabinet adjoining to the hall where they dined: this was called the cabinet of illuſtrious men, becauſe it was adorned with the portraits of popes, kings, princes, and other great and celebrated perſons, from whom he had received them; many of theſe portraits are ſtill to be ſeen at Villebon.

In another adjoining hall, magnificently furniſhed, the captain of his guards had a ſecond table, ſerved

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with almoſt as much grandeur as the firſt; here ſat the younger ſort, and indeed thoſe only whom, on account of the diſproportion of age, he choſe not to receive at his own table. The preſent duke of Sully has been told by ſeveral perſons of quality, that when they have accompanied their fathers in the viſits they made to his anceſtor, he kept only them at his own table, ſaying to the young men, *You are not old enough to eat with us, we ſhould grow weary of one another.*

When he had ſtaid ſome time with the company, he retired to his own apartment, where for two or three hours he employed himſelf in the ſame manner as in the morning. If the ſeaſon and the weather permitted it, he took a walk in the afternoon, attended with the ſame train as before: he often went into his gardens, and paſſing through a little covered alley, which ſeparated the flower from the kitchen garden, aſcended by a ſtone ſtair-caſe (which the preſent duke of Sully has cauſed to be deſtroyed) into a large walk of linden trees, upon a terras on the other ſide of the garden. It was then the taſte to have a great number of narrow walks, very cloſely ſhaded with four or five rows of trees or paliſadoes: here he uſed to ſit upon a ſettee painted green, and large enough to hold two perſons, and leaning his elbows upon a large grated window, which has been lately taken away likewiſe, amuſed himſelf with beholding, on the one ſide, an agreeable landſcape; and on the other, a ſecond alley, on a terrace, extremely beautiful, which ſurrounded a large piece of water, called the New Pond, and terminated by a wood of lofty trees, called the Great Park. In this park alſo he uſed ſometimes to walk, and often was drove about it in his chariot or coach, with the ducheſs his wife. The interval between theſe airings and ſupper, he ſpent in the ſame occupations as the morning: at ſupper, the ſame form was obſerved as at dinner: after which, every one retired to their reſpective apartments.

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The duke of Sully, on account of his religion, could not be admitted into any order: he therefore made one for himſelf. In the inventory of his effects there were ſeveral diamond rings for that uſe, He wore about his neck, and more eſpecially after the death of Henry IV. a chain of gold or diamonds, to which hung a large gold medal which had in relievo the figure of that great prince. He uſed often to take this medal out of his boſom, ſtop, and contemplate it, and then kiſs it with the utmoſt reverence and affection: he never would quit it, not even when he went to court, any more than his antient dreſs, which he always preſerved; for he would not ſubject himſelf to the change of faſhions. It is well known what happened to him one day when he went to court in conſequence of a meſſage from Lewis XIII. "Monſieur de Sully, ſaid this young "prince to him, I ſent for you as being one of the "chief miniſters of the king my father, and a "man in whom he placed great confidence, to aſk "your advice, and to confer with you upon ſome "affairs of importance." The duke of Sully ſeeing none but young courtiers about the king, who, to make their court to the conſtable de Luynes, ridiculed his dreſs and the gravity of his manners, made this anſwer: "Sire, I am too old to change my "habits, but for ſome good cauſe. When the "late king your father, of glorious memory, did "me the honour to ſend for me to confer with me "upon matters of importance, the firſt thing he "did was to ſend away the buffoons." The young king ſeemed not to diſapprove of this freedom: he ordered every one to withdraw, and remained alone with M. de Sully.

The moſt exact order, ſubordination, and peace, reigned throughout his numerous houſhold: no perſon knew better how to make himſelf be ſerved, reſpected, and obeyed, than the duke of Sully. The catholics in his ſervice ſaw no difference between his treatment of them and his proteſtant domeſtics,

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meſtics, except the great care he took to oblige the former to an exact performance of all the duties of good roman catholics. This was one effect of that eſteem, and even inclination, which, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, he has always ſhown for the true religion, and which would probably have led him to embrace it, but for the conſiderations he there mentions. The misfortune was, that, being perſuaded he could work out his ſalvation in either of the two religions, he was too much governed by his own delicacy, which would not ſuffer him to have the appearance of being ſwayed either by ambition or intereſt, in taking a reſolution which would have gratified both in ſo high a degree. All his children, except the ducheſs of Rohan, died in the boſom of the roman church.

The ducheſs his wife, although brought up in the principles of the roman catholic religion, quitted it after the death of M. de Châteaupers her firſt huſband, to marry the duke of Sully. The lords of Villebon had, in the church of that pariſh, which is a collegiate, a chapel on the ſide next the caſtle, which they cauſed to be demoliſhed, and built in its place two galleries, of which the lower one was ſo incloſed, that thoſe who were within could not be ſeen by the congregation; and the one above, to which the aſcent is, by a little ſtair-caſe of wood, is alſo obſcured by a grate. It is publicly known, that the two ducheſſes, of Sully and Rohan, came often into the lower gallery to hear the pſalms during the canonical hours. They waſhed with their own hands all the linen that was uſed in the ſervice of the altar. The preſent duke of Sully heard this circumſtance from Catherine de La-Porte, one of his anceſtors. This lady, who lived a long time with the ducheſs of Rohan, her aunt, heard from her an anecdote which no one at that time was ignorant of, namely, that the duke of Sully always gave a moſt gracious reception to the capuchins that viſited him, and had ſo great an eſteem

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for them, that during his laſt ſickneſs, and a few days before he died, he deſired to confer with ſome of theſe religious; but that, when they preſented themſelves for that purpoſe upon the bridge of the caſtle, the ducheſs of Sully gave orders that they ſhould not be admitted, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat.

This lady employed her time in regulating the interior of her houſhold; in having leaſes drawn out, and the accounts of the farmers and receivers given in; and always viſited the ſeveral eſtates of her huſband, when neceſſary. In her leiſure hours ſhe amuſed herſelf with working tapeſtry and embroidery with her ladies and maids of honour. The beauty and elegance of her work is ſtill admired in ſome pieces of tapeſtry that remain in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Sully, out of a great number which have been either loſt or carried into other families.

The works of the duke of Sully are more durable. Beſides all the other monuments of his liberality, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak, he has immortaliſed his memory by a great number of fine buildings in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, particularly in his government of Poitou. He would, if he had continued in the adminiſtration till his death, have procured all the roads in that province to have been made eaſy and commodious for travelling. It was he who cauſed that magnificent bridge and cauſeway to be built at Châtelleraut, which is ſtill to be ſeen there.

There was ſcarce one of his eſtates, thoſe eſpecially which had caſtles on them, where he did not leave marks of his magnificence, to which he was chiefly incited by a principle of charity, and a regard to the public good. He built moſt part of the Hôtel Dieu of Nogent. This city and lordſhip, which was diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of Nogent Le-Rotrou, was, by the prince of Condé's erecting it into a duchy, called D'Enguien; but, when it came

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came into the poſſeſſion of the duke of Sully, it loſt both theſe names, and was called the earldom of Nogent-le-Bethune. He at firſt deſigned to carry on very conſiderable buildings in the caſtle of this city, but he met with ſo many obſtacles from the religious of St. Denis, that he was determined to turn all his views upon Villebon. Meſſieurs D'Eſtouteville, to whom that houſe had formerly belonged, had left it built only up to the firſt ſtory: he raiſed it and completed it after the model of the Baſtile, of which he was governor, but with more beauty. The front preſents three ſets of chambers, covered with ſlates between the towers. The towers have flat roofs, covered with lead, with pinnacles, and the battlements alternately round and pointed; the ſpouts are of the ſame metal with caſt cannon, and the inner ſpouts which receive thoſe of the corners of the houſe, are likewiſe of caſt metal, eight feet high, terminating in dolphins heads. The grand ſtair-caſe is extremely large and luminous. At the firſt ſtory is a large room, with the beams and joints gilt; as likewiſe the chimney, which is of beautiful workmanſhip. The apartments are very numerous, and have their chimneys gilt, and the greateſt part of their pannels. The park is encloſed with ſtone walls, and contains a great number of pools and reſervoirs. The gardens, which join the houſe on three ſides, the courts, and court-yards, are all the work of the duke of Sully.

To give employment to the poor, who offered themſelves during a famine, and whom he thought it no real charity to ſupport in idleneſs, he made a pond about ſeven hundred and twenty yards long, and a hundred and twenty broad. This he called Chapel Pond. The earth which was dug out, he threw up into four terraces parallel to the canal, which reach to the new pond, another piece of water above the Chapel Pond. Between theſe terraces and the canal, were two levels of turf, which the preſent duke of Sully has cut into ſquares, into graſs plats,

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plats, and bowling-greens. All thoſe who offered were ſet to work indifferently, even to little children, ſome of whom did not carry, at a time, more than half a pound of earth: and for this purpoſe an infinite number of hand-carriages of all ſizes had been provided. To each of theſe poor people was given in the morning a piece of bread; at dinner-time a diſh of ſoop; and at ſupper time another piece of bread; together with wages in money in proportion to their age and labour. This work, which the duke of Sully never would have undertaken merely for the decoration of his houſe, coſt him fourſcore thouſand livres.

Every body knows that he built the caſtle of Roſny completely, ſurrounded it with dry ditches extremely wide, where, when batteries were placed, the ſhot croſſed each other in a ſurpriſing manner; a thing very rare at that time. He raiſed that fine terrace which runs acroſs the ſea to a prodigious extent, and thoſe great gardens filled with groves, and grottoes with water-works.

He embelliſhed Sully with gardens, of which the plants are the fineſt in the world; and with a canal, very long and broad, which is ſupplied with freſh water by the little river of Sanglé, which he turned that way, and which afterwards is loſt in the Loire. He erected a machine to convey the water to all the baſons and fountains, of which the gardens were full. The machine is yet in being; but the water-works have been ſuffered to go to ruin. With regard to the caſtle, he had it covered with ſlates: he wainſcotted, painted, and gilt, almoſt all the apartments, and worked in the walls the galleries which paſs from the little lodges, at the gate, to the main caſtle. The court-yard, and a ſecond court-yard, which was formerly called the Little Park, are likewiſe his work. There are, in this ſecond court, ſeveral eminencies, or enormous heaps of earth, which appear plainly to be the work of men. This expence, which produced no good, and of which

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the effect is even disagreeable, might surprise those who do not know that the duke of Sully had no other way of supporting a multitude of poor people, who demanded work in a time of scarcity. St. Ithier was anciently a little church, almost close to the castle: he removed it to the middle of a city, where he built, at his own cost, a very fine church covered with slate, I shall not mention several other works for which this city is obliged to him: among others, an hospital, which he founded there.

The principal apartment of this castle, is that which he fitted up in memory of Henry the Great, and which is called, for that reason, The king's apartment. He determined to leave another monument of his gratitude to this great prince, in the great hall of Sully. This hall, which, next to that of Montargis, is the largest in France, has a prospect of the Loire. Henry IV. is there painted, in a picture of the first size, upon a very fine sorrel horse. This is the most perfect, and the most like, of all the pictures of that prince. It is hung over the chimney, which is uncommonly large, adorned with carved work, and covered, both on the front and sides, with squares of painting, containing each an emblem or a device relating either to the king or the duke of Sully. One of these pieces has something singular: it is in the front, where the sun is represented casting a weak and pale light, with the moon below it, shining with extraordinary brightness; and lower yet, the earth, which seems obscured by the great brightness of the moon. This is the only emblem that has no motto; and may be therefore supposed to contain something mysterious.

The duke of Sully likewise repaired and enlarged the castle of La-Chapelle D'Angillon, built by mademoiselle D'Albert: he embellished it with gardens and terraces, and a park about two hundred and thirty acres, surrounded with stone walls, which, tho' strongly built, are now almost ruined by the negligence

negligence of his ſucceſſors. Facing the meadow is a great terrace, remarkable for its height and length, all faced with hewn ſtone, with pilaſters of brick and ſtone from ſpace to ſpace, which contributed at once to the ſtrength and beauty of the work. At the foot of this terrace was a mean church, which the duke of Sully pulled down and rebuilt, with great expence and magnificence, at the foot of the citadel of La-Chapelle, of which he is conſidered not only as the lord, but as the founder.

The caſtle of Montigny is indebted to him, among other embelliſhments, for a fine avenue of trees; and, behind the houſe, a wall or kind of court, very agreeable, with four rows of elms.

To conclude, it was he that built, and cut in the rock, the famous caſtle of Montrond, which was long conſidered as impregnable. The way to it was by a winding path, very broad, cut likewiſe in the rock; as were alſo the out-works of the palace, within which there was a well never dry, and ſheltered againſt all violence from without. The prince of Condé, as has been already ſhown, obliged the duke of Sully to give him up Montrond, which, in the times of confuſion, was his principal fortreſs againſt the king, whoſe army was ſtopped by it eighteen months, and at laſt took it only by ſtratagem; after which the fortifications were blown up, and the place deſtroyed.

END of the MEMOIRS of SULLY.

THE

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THE TRYAL OF FRANCIS RAVAILLAC, FOR THE Murder of King HENRY IV. 1610.

INTERROGATORIES *exhibited to the Priſoner accuſed of the murder of the late king, on the 17th of May, 1610. at the ſuit of the attorney-general, by* ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *firſt preſident;* NICHOLAS POTIER, *preſident;* JOHN COURTIN *and* PROSPER BAVIN, *counſellors of our lord the king in his court of parliament, commiſſioners appointed by the ſaid court for that purpoſe.*

THE priſoner is ſworn; and aſked his name, age, rank, and place of abode?

He ſaid, that his name was Francis Ravaillac, born and dwelling at Angoulême, between thirty-one, and thirty-two years of age.

He was aſked if he was married?

He anſwered, No.

Whether he ever had been married?

He anſwered, No.

How he had ſpent his youth? and to what he had applied himſelf?

He ſaid, that he had been employed in ſoliciting law-ſuits in this court.

Whether he had been bred up to the practice of the law.

He ſaid, that he had ſolicited law-ſuits for fourteen years; that he lodged at the Rats, oppoſite to the

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the Green pillar, in Harp-ſtreet, at a cobler's; and near the three pair of beads, in Calendar-ſtreet.

How long he had been in this city the laſt journey?

He ſaid, about three weeks.

Whether he has had any intention to go back again?

He ſaid, Yes.

How far he had gone back?

He ſaid, he had gone beyond the town of d'Eſtampes, at the ſign of the *Ecce homo*.

He was aſked, what made him return?

He ſaid, a deſire to kill the king.

He was aſked, what was his motive?

He anſwered, that amongſt other reaſons there was this, that the king had not, as he was able to do, brought back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church.

He was aſked, what other reaſons he had?

He anſwered, that he was come to this city to ſpeak to the king, and admoniſh him to bring back thoſe of the pretended reformed religion to the catholic church; and for that purpoſe he had been ſeveral times at the Louvre to meet with his majeſty; that he had been at madam d'Angoulême's, to get ſomebody to introduce him; and likewiſe at the houſe of the cardinal Du-Perron, to whom he never ſpoke, but only to his chaplains, whoſe names he could not tell, but ſhould know them if he ſaw them; that he ſpoke of it to father Daubigny, a jeſuit, in his laſt journey, which was before Chriſtmas; he ſpoke of it to the parſon of Saint-Severin, and to the father Saint-Mary-Magdalen, provincial of the Feuillants.

It was aſked him, where he ſpoke to father Daubigny?

He ſaid, he ſpoke to him in the church in Saint-Antony's-ſtreet, at the concluſion of maſs.

He was aſked, at what time he talked to him?

He

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He ſaid, that he ſet out from his own country thirteen days before Chriſtmas; that he was fourteen days in coming to this city; that three or four days after his arrival, he went to the houſe of the Jeſuits near Saint-Antony's gate, where he ſaid father Daubigny ſaid maſs; after which, he deſired one of the lay-brothers to procure him the means of ſpeaking to the ſaid Daubigny; which he did; and he told him ſeveral viſions which had preceded the meditations that he had made by the permiſſion of his provincial Francis Mary Magdalen of the Feuillants.

He was aſked, why he uſed the expreſſion, *My provincial?*

He ſaid, becauſe the ſaid Mary Magdalen had received him as lay-brother at the Feuillants.

It was aſked, how long he had wore the habit of a Feuillant? and why he had quitted it?

He ſaid, that he had worn it about ſix weeks, and they had taken it from him, becauſe he had viſions in his meditations.

On being aſked again about it, he ſaid he had deſired it again, but it was refuſed him on account of the ſaid meditations.

Upon this he began to weep, and ſaid, God had given him that habit, and his grief was, that they would not reſtore it to him.

He was aſked, if he knew the ſuperior, and his name?

He ſaid, that he did not know him nor his name; but that he had aſked for the habit again, only becauſe it being our Lord's pleaſure that he ſhould continue in the world, from which it was his wiſh to retire, he reſolved to ſerve as a lay-brother.

This he uttered with tears.

He ſaid, that he had a great deal of uneaſineſs, in not having ſtaid with the Feuillants in the favour of God.

He was aſked, what viſions he had ſpoke of to father Daubigny?

He

He ſaid, that he had told him, that while he was a priſoner for debt at Angoulême he had viſions, repreſenting fire, ſulphur, and incenſe; and being releaſed from priſon, the Saturday after Chriſtmas, having at night made his meditation, as was his cuſtom, in bed, with his hands claſped, and his feet croſſed, he felt his face and his mouth covered with ſomething which he could not diſcern, becauſe it was midnight; and being in that ſtate, he felt in himſelf a deſire to ſing the Pſalms of David; he begun the pſalm, *Dixit Dominus*, and ſung it through; and afterwards, *Miſerere*, and *De profundis*, at full length; and that it ſeemed to him, that he had a trumpet in his mouth, which made a ſound as loud as that which is made in war.

The next day in the morning, as ſoon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and recollected in God, as his manner was, he ſat down in a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it being not yet light, he perceived one of the ſticks yet on fire; and having finiſhed dreſſing himſelf, he found part of a bundle of twigs, which he put to the ſtick that had kept fire, and kneeling down upon the ground, ſet himſelf to blow it, when immediately, on both ſides of his face, both to the right and to the left, he ſaw, by the glimmering of the fire which was produced by his breath, hoſts like thoſe which are uſed at the communion of catholics in the church of God; and below his face, at the right ſide of his mouth, he ſaw a roll of the ſame ſize with that which the prieſt elevates at the celebration of divine ſervice. Of this revelation he gave an account to father Daubigny, who, fearing that his head was diſordered, told him that he was not to think of all this, but to tell his beads, and pray to God: but that he was determined in his own mind to addreſs himſelf to ſome great man to ſpeak to the king.

It

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It was enquired, if he had aſked Daubigny whether, if he ſhould have viſions that incited him to kill the king, he ought to confeſs them?

He anſwered, that he had ſaid nothing to him but what he had already told, except that his purpoſe was to ſpeak to the king to drive out all the followers of the pretended reformed religion, and convert them to the Roman catholic church.

It was aſked, what Daubigny ſaid to this?

He ſaid, that he ſhould put all theſe things out of his head, ſay his prayers, and tell his beads.

It was aſked, whether he had no other converſation with him, and whether he never ſaw him but that time?

He anſwered, No.

Why did he chuſe to addreſs himſelf to Daubigny rather than to any other?

He anſwered, that it was becauſe, when he was turned out of the Feuillants, he had a mind to become a jeſuit, or to entreat him to ſpeak to his provincial to replace him among the Feuillants; but that, not having found him the firſt time, one of the lay brethren told him, that they never receive into their houſe thoſe who had been in another order.

He ſaid farther, that, not having been able to ſpeak to the king, he went back to the jeſuits to ſpeak a ſecond time to the ſaid Daubigny, and ſpoke to him as he has already ſaid, and ſhewed him a little knife on which there was a heart and a croſs, telling him, that the heart of the king ſhould be diſpoſed to make war amongſt the huguenots.

He was aſked, what hindered him from ſpeaking to the king?

He ſaid, that it was the grand provoſt, who had given him the torture with the gun while he was kept priſoner at the Hôtel de Retz.

He was aſked, to whom he had applied himſelf that he might ſpeak with the king?

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He ſaid, to the archers, and they carried him to ſpeak to the provoſt, who told him that the king was ſick.

He was aſked, when he was at the Louvre?

He ſaid, that it was after Chriſtmas; and ſome two or three days afterwards he met his majeſty near St. Innocent's in his coach, and, deſiring to ſpeak to him, he cried out in theſe words: *Sire, I ſpeak to you in the name of our Lord Jeſus, and of the Holy Virgin*; but the king put him back with a little ſtick, and would not hear him. He then conſidered of retiring into his own country, and went away. And, being at Angoulême, he went to look for friar Gilles there, who had been formerly viſitor of the Franciſcan friars in Paris, to whom he confeſſed his viſions and meditations, telling him, that he ſaw it to be the will of our Lord to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic church: that the viſitor told him he need not doubt of it. A few days afterwards, and the firſt Sunday in Lent, he went to maſs at the monaſtry of the Franciſcan friars in Angoulême, where he reconciled himſelf with God, made his confeſſion to a friar of the order, whoſe name he does not know, and in his confeſſion told the voluntary murder.

He was deſired to explain what he meant by the word *voluntary?*

He ſaid, his meaning was, that he returned into this city with an intention to murder the king, which, nevertheleſs, he did not tell his confeſſor, who did not deſire the meaning of thoſe words.

Upon being further queſtioned, he ſaid, that he had then loſt that intention, but that, when he returned to this city, he reſumed his intention.

He was aſked, when he came to this city?

He ſaid, that he travelled on foot, and arrived eight days after his ſetting out.

He was aſked, how he had employed himſelf during his ſtay in Paris?

He

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He ſaid, that he lodged at the Three Half Moons, in the ſuburb St. James; and afterwards, that he might be near the Louvre, he went to lodge at the Three Pigeons, in the ſuburb St. Honore; from thence he went to take a lodging at an inn, near the *quinze vingts*, but, there being too many gueſts there, he was refuſed; upon which he took up a knife that lay upon a table, not upon account of his being refuſed a lodging, but becauſe it ſeemed to him a very fit one for the execution of his deſign, and he kept it for ſome days, or three weeks, in a bag in his pocket.

He farther ſaid, that, having deſiſted from his intention, he ſet out upon his journey home, and went as far as Eſtampes; that, as he was walking, he broke the point of the knife againſt a cart near the garden of Chantaloup, and, coming oppoſite to the *Ecce Homo*, of the ſuburb of Eſtampes, he again took it into his head to kill the king, and, no longer reſiſting the temptation as he had done formerly, he returned to Paris with that reſolution, becauſe the king did not convert the followers of the pretended reformation, and becauſe he had heard it reported, that the king intended to make war upon the Pope, and transfer the ſeat of the holy ſee to Paris.

He was then aſked, where he lodged? and who procured him lodgings in this city?

He ſaid, that he ſought for an opportunity to kill the king; and that, for this purpoſe, he ſharpened, with a ſtone, the point of the knife which had been broke, and waited till the queen was crowned, and come back to the city, ſuppoſing that there would not be ſo much confuſion in France, if he killed the king after her coronation, as if he had done it before.

He was told, that, ſince he deferred killing the king through a hope that there would be fewer commotions after the coronation, the ſaid coronation

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could not prevent the troubles which the king's death muſt neceſſarily bring along with it.

He ſaid, that he ſubmitted that to the will of God.

He was aſked, where he went to meet the king?

He ſaid, that he went to the Louvre, where he had been ſeveral times ſince he had reſolved upon killing him; that he went there laſt Wedneſday, and intended to kill him between the two gates, as he was going into his coach; that he followed him as far as St. Innocent's, near the place where he happened to meet him before, when he would not ſpeak to him; and obſerving that the coach was ſtopt by two carts, and that his majeſty turned his face and leaned towards that ſide where monſieur d'Epernon ſat, he ſtruck him twice in the ſide with his knife, paſſing his arm above the coach-wheel.

He was aſked, what was his own opinion of the action he had committed?

He ſaid, that he thought he had committed a great fault, for which he aſked pardon of God, of the queen, the dauphine, the whole court, and of every one who was injured by it.

We ſhewed him the knife, which lay before us: it was double edged at the point, with the handle made of a ſtag's horn. He acknowledged it to be the ſame with which he had ſtabbed the king, and that it was immediately taken from him by a gentleman on horſeback.

He was told, that he could have no reaſon for committing ſo wicked and traitorous an act, and that he had certainly been incited to it by ſome other perſon?

He ſaid, that no perſon whatever had incited him to do it, but the common diſcourſe among the ſoldiers, who ſaid, that if the king, who would not tell his deſign to any one, intended to make war upon the Holy Father, that they would not aſſiſt him, although they were to die for it: that for this cauſe

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cauſe he yielded to the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, becauſe he made war againſt God, in as much as the Pope is God, and God the Pope.

He was aſked, what time it was that he heard this diſcourſe amongſt the ſoldiers?

He ſaid, that it was after he went to lodge at the Three Half Moons.

It was objected to him, that he was guilty of a falſhood in declaring that to be the cauſe of his committing the parricide, becauſe he had ſaid before, that, having laid aſide his deſign of killing the king, he ſet out on his journey to his own country; and that, when he came to Eſtampes, he reſumed that deſign, upon the diſcourſe of the ſoldiers.

He anſwered, that he had ſpoke to them before, notwithſtanding which he had altered his intention; but, when he came to Eſtampes, he reſumed it, upon remembring what the ſoldiers had ſaid to him.

He deſired us to ſhew him a paper which he had about him at the time he was ſeized, whereon was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each ſide; one holding a key, the other a ſword. We ſhewed this paper to him, and he acknowledged it to be the ſame which he had brought with him from Augoulême, with an intention to kill the king.

He was aſked, whether, when he was at the houſe of a man whoſe name was Beliard, he had heard the ſaid Beliard ſay, that the Pope's nuncio had told the king, in the name of his holineſs, that, if he made war, he would excommunicate him?

He ſaid, Yes; and alſo that his majeſty had anſwered, that it was his predeceſſors who had placed the Popes upon the throne; and that, if the Holy Father ſhould excommunicate him, he would diſpoſſeſs him of it; whereupon he reſolved to kill the king, and with that intention he wrote theſe lines over the two lions:

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Ne ſouffre pas qu'on faſſe en ta preſence
Au nom de Dieu aucune irreverence.

Do not ſuffer the name of God to be prophaned in thy preſence.

He was aſked, whether the knife, when he took it off the table, had the ſame handle that it has now?

He ſaid, No: that the handle was of whalebone, which, being broke, he gave the knife to his landlord's brother, whoſe name was John Barbier, a turner by trade, living in the ſuburb of St James, and deſired him to put a handle of horn upon it; but he did not tell him why he preferred that to any other.

He was aſked, if this Beliard was of the pretended reformed religion?

He ſaid, No; that he was a catholic; nevertheleſs he held that diſcourſe with him which put it into his head to kill the king.

He was told, that he ought not to have taken ſo wicked and abominable a reſolution upon the diſcourſe of one man only.

He ſaid, he had taken a reſolution to kill the king, not only upon what he had heard this man ſay, but alſo upon the diſcourſe of the ſoldiers at Paris, and that of the ſieur de St. Gorges, among others, who ſaid, that, if the king would make war upon the Holy Father, he would obey him, being thereto obliged; and that, if the king did wrong, he only was to anſwer for it.

We ſhewed him a heart of Coſt-mary root, which he acknowledged to have been taken from him; and he ſaid, it had been given him by monſieur Guillebaut, canon of Angoulême, to cure him of a fever, ſaying, that there was within it a little bit of wood of the real Holy Croſs, conſecrated by the Capuchin friars, which had that virtue; and for

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that purpoſe he had ſent Mary Moſeau, his landlady, to the capuchins for it, and ever ſince he had wore it about his neck.

We ordered it to be opened in his preſence; but there was no wood to be found in the inſide.

Upon which he ſaid, that it was not him who was deceived, but the perſon who gave it him.

We ſhewed him a pair of beads, which, he ſaid, he had bought in St. James's-ſtreet ſeven or eight days ago; that he has ſaid his prayers with them, aud wore them ever ſince conſtantly.

He was aſked, what perſons he kept company with after he had reſumed his intention to kill the king?

He ſaid, he kept company with none but the friars of his own country, who are at the convent of the Dominican friars, whither he uſed to go to hear maſs and veſpers.

He was aſked, what diſcourſe he had with them? and if he had ſpoke to them of his viſions?

He ſaid, that he had told them what he had told to others.

He was aſked, if he was acquainted with a man whoſe name was Colletet? and what diſcourſe they had had together?

He ſaid, that he knew him only by lodging in the ſame room with him; that they lay together, but that he had not ſpoke to him of his deſign.

He was aſked, if he had had any diſcourſe with any other friars?

He ſaid, not in this laſt journey.

If he had had any diſcourſe with a franciſcan friar of Angoulême?

He ſaid, Yes: but that he had not ſpoke to him of his enterpriſe, and of his imaginations.

He was told, that he did not ſay the truth; for that he had ſpoke to him of his imaginations, aſking his opinion whether he, who had ſuch imaginations, ought to declare them to his confeſſor.

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To this he anſwered, that he had not ſpoke to a franciſcan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de La-Royire, with whom he joined company; and, becauſe he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admiſſion into the convent: that he alſo carried his bundle for him; and that the name of this friar was Le-Febure.

It was obſerved to him, that, during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had aſked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it, was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was ſo ſlight, that he muſt certainly have been prompted to it by ſome one who was concerned in the ſucceſs of that miſerable ſtroke, of which we feel the effects.

He ſaid, that, ſince he has been under confinement, he had been urged by ſeveral perſons to make this confeſſion, and even by the archbiſhop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no perſon whatever, but by his own deſires; and that, however he might be tormented, he ſhould never ſay any thing elſe; that if torments could have forced him to confeſs, he had ſuffered ſufficiently by the torture which a huguenot of his own private authority gave him, when he kept him priſoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broke.

He was told, that he had been choſe to commit this action as a proper inſtrument of miſchief; he whoſe whole life had been wicked, and who had begun with uſing a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He ſaid, that it would not be found ſo; and that his father and mother, who were ſtill living, would witneſs the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accuſed and

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and condemned for it; but it was by falſe witneſſes; for he was innocent.

He was aſked, when he was at Bruſſels?

He ſaid, that he never was out of the kingdom; and that he did not know where Bruſſels is.

This examination being read to the ſaid Ravaillac, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name

RAVAILLAC.

The examination taken next morning, at the palace, by us the commiſſioners, the firſt preſident being ſick.

THE priſoner being ſent for as before, and his oath taken,

He was aſked, what was his rank and condition? and if he had a father or a mother alive?

He ſaid, that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himſelf in inſtructing youth; and that his father is likewiſe a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is ſeparated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, without adding or diminiſhing any thing, except only that he omitted ſaying, as he did now, that he had been carrried to the commiſſion of that crime, becauſe the king would not permit juſtice to be done upon the huguenots, for the attempt they made laſt Chriſtmas to murder all the catholics, for which attempt many of the huguenots had been taken priſoners, and brought into this city; yet, he had been told, by ſeveral perſons, were not puniſhed.

He was told, that this was falſe; and that, although he had heard it, he ſhould not have believed it, nor have been induced to commit a deed ſo wicked and abominable.

He ſaid, that this was one of the circumſtances which helped to ſtrengthen the temptation.

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He was told, that it was the advice and inſtruction of others which ſtrengthened it.

He ſaid, that no one was engaged in the deſign but himſelf.

He was aſked, if he lived in the ſame country with his father and mother?

He ſaid, that he had lived with his father and mother, but that his father neither loved him nor his mother.

He was aſked, how he maintained himſelf?

He ſaid, that he had eighty ſcholars, and that, with what he gained from them, he ſupported himſelf in the journies he had made to this city.

He was aſked, if his father and mother obſerved his conduct?

He ſaid, that his father had not lived with them theſe ſix years; that he hated him; and that he had lived with his mother only, his ſiſters having likewiſe left her.

He was aſked, what means he had of living?

He ſaid, that his father and mother lived upon alms, and he himſelf upon what he gained from his ſcholars, one of whom gave him bacon, another fleſh, another corn, wine, &c. and by what his friends furniſhed him with.

He was aſked, who were his friends?

He ſaid, that they were the fathers and mothers of his ſcholars.

He was aſked, why he did not ſtay in his own country, ſince he could get a livelihood there?

He ſaid, that he thought he ſhould prefer the honour of God to all things.

He was told, that it was not for the honour of God to kill his king, but that it was an act of the devil.

He ſaid, that it was a wicked temptation, which did not proceed from God, but was a puniſhment to him for his ſins.

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He was aſked, if he was not filled with horror at the commiſſion of an act ſo abominable, and of ſo fatal conſequence to all France?

He ſaid, that he was ſorry for having committed it, but that ſince it was done, he implored God to give him grace, that he might be able to continue till death in good faith, lively hope, and perfect charity; and that he hoped God was more merciful, and his will to ſave him more powerful, than the act which he had committed was to damn him.

He was told, that he could not be in the grace of God, after having committed ſo wicked an action.

He ſaid, that he hoped our all-powerful Lord would not make him ſuffer for it.

He was told, that he ought not to hope for the mercy of God, unleſs he acknowledged the truth, and declared who the perſons were who had incited and perſuaded him to ſo wicked a deed.

He ſaid, that his only reaſon for committing it was, what he had declared before at his examination.

He was aſked, if he had imparted his intention to any one?

He ſaid, that he had not to any perſon whatever.

He was told, that he was too mean and inconſiderable a perſon to have conceived ſuch a deſign, and that he muſt have been adviſed and ſupported by others.

He ſaid, that no perſon had adviſed him.

He was told, that he was ſo much the more wicked, if he undertook ſuch an enterprize without being adviſed to it; therefore he would do well to declare who were his adviſers.

To this he anſwered, that the reaſon why he did not declare this pernicious intention to prieſts, and men who have the care of ſouls, was, that he was well aſſured if he had diſcloſed to them his deſign of killing the king, it was their duty to ſeize his perſon, and put him into the hands of juſtice; ſince whenever the public is concerned, prieſts are obliged to

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to reveal all confeſſions; for this reaſon therefore he would not open himſelf to any perſon, through a fear that he might be puniſhed with death, as well for his intention of killing the king, as if he had really done it; for which he aſked pardon of God.

He was told, that the church commands, that all evil thoughts ſhould be revealed in confeſſion, and to neglect it is a deadly ſin.

He ſaid, that he acknowledged this.

He was told, that he had mentioned it.

He ſaid, he had not.

He was aſked, if he had ſpoken of it to a Franciſcan friar?

He ſaid, No.

He was told, that he did not ſpeak the truth, for that he had mentioned it to a Franciſcan friar, aſking him, whether, if a man had ſtrange viſions, ſuch as to kill the king, he ought to declare them in his confeſſion?

He ſaid, that it was true he had conſulted a friar upon this head, but did not tell him that he would do it.

He was aſked, who it was that he conſulted?

He ſaid, a young Franciſcan friar, named Le-Febure, to whom he put this queſtion, Whether, if a man was aſſaulted with a temptation, ſuch as to kill a king, and ſhould confeſs it to the penitentiary, he ſhould be under a neceſſity of revealing it; but being interrupted by another friar, he could not know the friar's opinion concerning the caſe that he put to him.

He was told, that he did not ſay the truth, and that the Franciſcan did make him an anſwer; and he was aſked, if he would believe the Franciſcan if he owned it?

He ſaid, that he would not believe him; but that it was his opinion, that if the friar had given him an anſwer, it was, that he ought to reveal his imaginations; but he was interrupted, and therefore would

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would not give him an anſwer; neither did he, the accuſed, propoſe the queſtion to him, as if he was the man who had the temptation, but in general, as if it ſhould happen to any man.

He was told, that he did not acknowledge the truth, and that he did declare his intentions to him.

He ſaid, that it was very unlikely that he ſhould do ſo; that he had applied, as well to lay-men as to others, even to an equerry belonging to queen Margaret, whoſe name was De-Ferrare; he declared his viſions to him, and intreated him to procure him an opportunity to ſpeak to the king; that the equerry anſwered, he muſt firſt have proofs that he was a good man, and one who was fit to ſpeak to the king: to which he, the accuſed, made anſwer, that he thought he was good enough to ſpeak to the king. He added, that probably if he had ſpoke to his majeſty, he would have loſt his temptation. That he afterwards applied to the ſecretary of madame de Angoulême, who told him that the king was ſick; yet he went again to the houſe of the cardinal Du-Perron, where he had the anſwer he formerly repeated, That he would do better to return to his own houſe.

He was told, that that was good counſel, and he ought to have followed it.

He ſaid that it was true, but he was ſo weakened by his ſins that he had no power over himſelf; and that the devil made him fall into this temptation.

He was told, that the devil made uſe of others to tempt him.

He ſaid, that no man had ever ſpoke to him on the ſubject.

He was told, that he could not hope for the grace of God, unleſs he diſcharged his conſcience.

He ſaid, that he had ſome fears, but he alſo had great hopes of the grace of God.

He was told, that he could not expect it but by declaring the truth.

He

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He ſaid, that if he had been employed by any one in France, or by a foreigner, and ſhould be ſo abandoned by God as to die without declaring it, he ſhould not believe that he would be ſaved, or that there would be any paradiſe for him, becauſe *abiſſus abiſſunt*, &c. as he had learned of the preachers of our Lord; that one abyſs of ſins leads into others; that it was to double his crime, that the king, more eſpecially the queen, the whole houſe of France, the court, the nobility, and all the people, ſhould, on his account, be induced to offend God, while their minds remained in a perpetual inquietude, ſuſpecting, unjuſtly, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, of their ſubjects; none of whom, he believed, were ſo imprudent, as to entertain a thought of being diſloyal to their princes.

He was told, that if that was his opinion, he ought the more readily to declare who had perſuaded him to the crime.

He ſaid, that no Frenchman, foreigner, or any other, had ever adviſed, perſuaded, or ſpoke to him on this ſubject; neither had he, the accuſed, ever mentioned it to any one: he was not ſo wicked as to have committed that deed for any other cauſe than what he had declared to us, namely, that he believed the king intended to make war upon the Pope.

He was told, that this was a falſe pretence.

He ſaid, that he was very ſorry for what he had done, and that he earneſtly begged of every one to lay aſide their ſuſpicions of his having been ſet on to murder the king, and to believe that he only was concerned in that deed; and that they would not look with an evil eye, or bear any one ill will, ſince he alone was guilty.

He was aſked, if he had ever been in ſervice?

He ſaid, that he had ſerved the late monſieur Roſieres, a counſellor of Angoulême; and that he had lived likewiſe with ſome attorneys, who were now dead.

He

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He was aſked, if he had ever ſerved any nobleman, as a page, footman, or valet de chambre?

He ſaid that he had not; but when he lived with counſellor Roſieres, as his clerk, he likewiſe ſerved him as a valet de chambre.

He was aſked, if he had ſeen the coronation laſt Tueſday, and if he had followed the king?

He ſaid he had not.

He was aſked, if he had been on the road to Saint-Denis?

He ſaid, not this laſt journey, but at Chriſtmas laſt, when he went to beg alms of the bakers.

He was aſked, if he had been there laſt week?

He ſaid, he had not gone farther than Saint-Jean-en-Greve, and le Pont Notre-Dame.

He was aſked, if he had any magical characters about him? and who had given them to him?

He ſaid, he ſhould have thought it a wicked thing to have them.

His examination being read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name

RAVAILLAC.

Underneath which he wrote theſe lines:

Que toujours en mon cœur,
Jeſus ſoit le vainqueur.

In my heart let Jeſus be always conqueror.

Father James Daubigny, prieſt of the college of Jeſuits, was this day ſent for into court by us the commiſſioners, in the preſence of Ravaillac; both of them acknowledged the oaths they had taken.

The ſaid Ravaillac acknowledged, that the ſaid father Daubigny was the perſon whom he had heard ſay maſs ſome time after laſt Chriſtmas, in their church

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church in Saint Antony's ſtreet; that having been told he was the friend of father Mary Magdalen the Feuillant, he went to ſeek him, to intreat him to procure his admiſſion into that order; that after maſs was over, he ſpoke to him by the means of a lay brother, and declared to him, that he had had great viſions and imaginations, importing, that the king ought to reduce the followers of the pretended reformation; and that he ſhewed the ſaid Daubigny a little knife, whereon was a heart and a croſs; believing, that the king ought to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic and roman church.

The ſaid Daubigny replied, that all this was falſe, and that he had never ſeen the ſaid Ravaillac.

The ſaid Ravaillac anſwered, By the ſame token you gave me a penny, which you aſked of one that was near you.

To this the ſaid Daubigny anſwered, that the priſoner was a very bad man; and after having committed ſo wicked an action, he had ſins enough to anſwer for, without being the cauſe of an hundred thouſand others, which might be committed.

The priſoner was then told, that if he had any objections to make to father Daubigny, he muſt make them immediately.

He ſaid that he had none; that he looked upon the ſaid father Daubigny to be an honeſt man, a good religious, and that he would believe him.

In like manner, the ſaid Daubigny being told of the ordinance, that he muſt make his objections to the priſoner immediately, for they would not afterwards be received,

He ſaid, that he had nothing elſe to ſay, but that the priſoner was a very wicked man, and had uttered ſeveral falſhoods.

The examination of the ſaid Daubigny being read in the preſence of the ſaid Ravaillac, he, the ſaid Daubigny, perſiſted in his anſwers, and declared that they were true.

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But the ſaid Ravaillac declared, that he had ſpoke to the ſaid Daubigny: that he went to look for him when he came out of the Louvre, and told him that he had temptations; and that when he was in priſon making his meditations, by permiſſion of father Mary Magdalen, his hands and feet had ſent forth a ſtench of ſulphur and fire; which were proofs of the exiſtence of a purgatory, contrary to the erroneous opinion of heretics; that he had viſions of the ſacred hoſts on each ſide of his face, having before ſung the Pſalms of David; and, in a word, that he had related all thoſe circumſtances to him which he had declared to us the day before in his examination: and that the ſaid Daubigny ſaid to him, in anſwer, that he, the ſaid Ravaillac, ought to apply to ſome great men to admoniſh the king: however, ſince he had not done it, it was more proper for him to pray to God, he being of opinion, that thoſe viſions he ſpoke of were merely imaginary, and the effects of a diſordered brain, as might be perceived by his looks; that he ought to eat good ſoop, go to his own country, tell his beads, and pray to God.

To this the ſaid Daubigny replied, that theſe were all dreams and lies.

We having cauſed the queſtions that were put to the ſaid Ravaillac concerning the ſaid Daubigny, with his anſwers, to be read to him in the preſence of Daubigny, the ſaid Ravaillac perſiſted in his anſwers, and declared that they were true.

The ſaid Daubigny replied, that all which the ſaid Ravaillac had depoſed againſt him was falſe, as he had before declared to us.

Upon this, Ravaillac, being farther queſtioned, replied, that he had never ſeen the ſaid Daubigny but that one time.

Their examination being read to them, they perſiſted in their anſwers, and ſigned their names.

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The examination taken on the 19th of the said month of May, in the morning, at the Palace, by us the commissioners.

THE said Ravaillac being brought into court, and his oath taken, he was required to declare, who those persons were that had prompted him to so wicked an undertaking.

He said, that all which now remained for him to declare was, his intention and earnest desire to free himself from the load of his sins; that the whole nation was, upon his account, led to believe that he had been bribed by the enemies of France to kill the king, or by foreign kings and princes, who were desirous of aggrandising themselves, as was too common among the kings and great potentates of the earth, who do not consider whether their motive for making war is agreeable to the will of God; or else through a covetous desire of appropriating unjustly to themselves the territories of other princes; but that the truth was, he, the prisoner, had not been incited to that action by any person whatever; for if he could have been so wicked as to have committed it for money, or for the interest of foreigners, he would have acknowledged it in the presence of God, before whom he now maintained the truth: that he therefore intreated the queen, the court, and the whole nation, to believe him, and not to charge his soul with the crime they commit, in supposing he was prompted to that parricide by any other; for that this sin would fall heavy on him the prisoner, for being the cause of the uncertainty they were in which gave rise to their suspicions; and he therefore implored them to lay those suspicions aside, since no one but himself was able to judge of the fact, and it was such as he had confessed.

It was remonstrated to him, that since he had neither been injured in his person or goods by any command

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command or ordinance of the king's, it was not probable he would make an attempt upon his ſacred perſon, whom he knew to be God's anointed, unleſs he had been perſuaded to it by ſome other perſons, and had received money from them; he being a poor man, in want of the neceſſaries of life, and the ſon of parents who lived upon alms.

He ſaid, that it is ſufficiently proved to the court through the courſe of his examination, if he had, through the force of money, or by the perſuaſions of perſons who are ambitious of the ſcepter of France, been prevailed upon to murder the king, he would not have come three times expreſsly from Angoulême to Paris, which was a hundred leagues diſtant from each other, to admoniſh the king to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church, as being perſons who acted contrary to the will of God and his church; for a man who could be ſo wicked as to ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted, through avarice, to aſſaſſinate his prince, would not have come three ſeveral times to admoniſh him, as he had done; and that, ſince he had committed this parricide, the ſieur de La-Force, captain of the guards, has acknowledged that he, the priſoner, had been at the Louvre, and earneſtly entreated him to procure him the means of ſpeaking to the king; and that the ſaid ſieur de La-Force told him he was a furious papiſt, aſking him if he knew monſieur D'Epernon; to which he, the priſoner, replied, that he did know monſieur D'Epernon, and that he himſelf was not a furious papiſt; but that, when he had taken the habit in the monaſtry of St. Bernard, father Francis de St. Peter was appointed to be his ſpiritual father; and, ſince he was a true roman, and apoſtolic catholic, he was deſirous of living and dying ſuch: and he entreated the ſaid ſieur de La-Force to bring him to the ſpeech of the king; for he durſt not declare to him the temptation he had ſo long had to kill the king, all he wanted was to tell

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it to his majeſty, to the end that he might no longer be troubled with this bad intention.

He was aſked, whether, when he took thoſe journies to adviſe the king to make war upon the followers of the pretended reformation, he deſigned, in caſe his majeſty had not complied with his deſires, to have committed the wicked act he had done.

He ſaid, he did not intend it in that caſe; for he ſhould have laid aſide his deſign, and have thought that it was better to make him that remonſtrance than to kill him.

It was objected to him, that he had not changed his wicked intention; ſince, after his laſt journey from Angoulême, in Eaſter, he had not ſought for an opportunity to ſpeak to the king, which was a proof that he left Angoulême with a reſolution to do what he had done.

He ſaid, it was true.

He was aſked, if, from Eaſter-day to that on which he left Angoulême, he had received the holy communion?

He ſaid, he had not; and that he received it the firſt Sunday in Lent; but that he had, nevertheleſs, cauſed the holy ſacrifice of the maſs to be celebrated in St. Paul's church, at Angoulême, which was his pariſh church, as acknowleging himſelf unworthy of the moſt holy and auguſt ſacrament, full of myſtery and incomprehenſible virtue, becauſe he was troubled with the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, and would not in ſuch a ſtate approach the precious body of his God.

It was objected to him, that, ſince he perceived he was not worthy of that myſtery which he called incomprehenſible, he could not aſſiſt with any devotion at that holy ſacrifice celebrated by the prieſt, of which all chriſtians participate, receiving ſpiritually that which he who conſecrates receives actually.

To this he was ſilent. He continued ſome time penſive and in thought, and then ſaid, that he did not

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not well know what to anſwer to their remonſtrance; but afterwards he ſaid, that he remembred it was his great affection for the moſt holy ſacrament of the altar, which induced him to have it celebrated; and that he hoped he ſhould participate of the communion by means of his mother, who was going to receive her God in that ſacrifice; becauſe he was always of opinion, that ſhe was more pious, and had more love for her God than he had. Saying this he ſhed many tears.

He was told, that he could have no reverence for, nor any faith in the holy communion and ſacrifice of the maſs, ſince he had, for a long time, been under the influence of the devil, and been accuſtomed to invoke dæmons, whom he cauſed to appear to him, when he lodged in this city, about four years ago.

He ſaid, that he never had invoked demons.

He was aſked, if he knew a man named Dubois, born in Limoges? and whether they lodged toge ther in this city, and lay in the ſame chamber?

He ſaid, he did know him: that they lodged together at the ſign of the Rats, oppoſite to the Green Pillar in Harp-ſtreet.

He was aſked, if he would believe what the ſaid Dubois ſhould ſay?

He ſaid, Yes, he would believe him.

He was aſked, whether, as he lay in bed with the ſaid Dubois, he did not uſe ſome magical incantation invoking the Demons? and in what manner?

He ſaid, that this was ſo far from being true, that he did not even lye in the ſame chamber with the ſaid Dubois, but in a garret over the room where he, the ſaid Dubois, lay: that, about midnight, the ſaid Dubois, repeating *Credo in Deum*, earneſtly entreated him, ſeveral times, to come down to him; ſaying, Ravaillac, my friend, come down; and crying aloud, My God, have mercy upon me: that thereupon he, the priſoner, would have gone down to him to know why he cried out for help in ſuch a

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manner, but he was hindered by ſome perſons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the ſaid Dubois: but that he, the priſoner, going down to Dubois ſome time afterwards, he told him, that he had ſeen a black dog of a monſtrous ſize, and very terrible, which came and laid its two fore-paws upon his bed; and that the terror this viſion threw him into made him utter thoſe cries, and entreat that he, the priſoner, would come into his room and ſtay with him; upon which he, the priſoner, adviſed the ſaid Dubois to have recourſe to the celebration of the holy ſacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible viſions, and to cauſe maſs to be ſaid the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the franciſcan friars, and cauſed the holy maſs to be ſaid, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preſerve them from the incurſions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

It was objected to him, that it was not at all probable that the ſaid Dubois ſhould have called to him who lay ſo high; or that he ſhould have heard his voice.

He anſwered, that nothing was more likely, it being one of the properties of the voice to aſcend; but that, ſince the court would not believe him, the truth of what he ſaid would be atteſted by thoſe perſons who were in the room where he lay, and who hindered him from going to the ſaid Dubois: that they were his landlady, Mary Moiſeau, and a couſin of hers, named John Le-Blond, who came into his room on account of the great noiſe they had heard, and for which he had quitted the room of the ſaid Dubois, where he had lain before.

He was told, that he had no deſire to get rid of his temptation, and therefore would not receive the communion on Eaſter-day, leſt it ſhould have the power to divert him from his purpoſe.

He ſaid, that his reaſon for not receiving the communion was, that he had, on Eaſter-day, taken a reſo-

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a reſolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a deſire to hear the holy maſs before he ſet out, believing that the ſacrament, which his mother received that day, would be ſufficient both for her and him, as he then begged of God that it might, and as he did now, and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy communions, taken by the religious of both ſexes, by good men ſeculars, and others in the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the church, the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them, he might be made partaker of it, as believing himſelf a member of one only Jeſus Chriſt.

He was told, that, having reſolved upon ſo wicked an act, he was in the ſtate of mortal ſin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the grace of God, and the communion of good chriſtians, while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it, if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good catholic and chriſtian, as he would be thought to be.

He ſaid, that he did not, in the leaſt, doubt but that he was prompted to it by the motions of his own mind, againſt the will of God, the author of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies; but that now, through the remonſtrance of the court, he acknowledged that he either could not or would not reſiſt that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without ſuppreſſing or concealing any thing; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remiſſion of his ſins, he being more powerful to ſave him, provided he made confeſſion and received abſolution, than men were to hurt him; and that he beſeeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monſieur

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St. Peter, Monſieur St. Francis, (here he wept) Monſieur St. Bernard, and all the celeſtial court of Paradiſe, to be his advocates and interceſſors with the moſt ſacred majeſty, to the end that he might interpoſe his croſs between his ſoul and hell; and by that he hoped to be made partaker of the merits of our Saviour Chriſt's paſſion, moſt humbly beſeeching him that he would give him grace to continue aſſociated with the merits of all thoſe treaſures he gave to the apoſtolic power on earth, when he ſaid, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

His examination being read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name

RAVAILLAC.

On the 27th of May, 1610, in the Morning, at the Palace.

The Confrontation of the Witneſſes before us, ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *Knight, firſt Preſident*; NICHOLAS POITIER, *Preſident*; PROSPER BAVIN *and* JOHN COURTIN, *Counſellors*. &c.

PAUL Noſter, exempt of the guards, was confronted with the priſoner; both of them acknowledged the oath they had taken.

The accuſed ſaid, that the witneſs was the perſon who took him priſoner, and the witneſs, that the accuſed was the priſoner whom he took.

The priſoner then was told, that, if he had any objections to make againſt the witneſs, he muſt make them immediately, according to the ordinance of the realm.

He ſaid, that he had none.

The depoſition of this witneſs being read to him, he perſiſted in it; and the priſoner acknowledging that it was true, they both ſigned it.

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The priſoner was then confronted with James de Pluviers, Eſq; of St. Michael.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner was then confronted with Jerome de La-Robye, equerry to the king.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner was then confronted with Gamaliel Edovart, one of the king's footmen.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner ſaid, that he knew him to be one of the king's footmen, but that he did not know if he was the perſon who ſeized him after he committed the act; and, being put in mind of the ordinance, he ſaid, he had no objection to make to him.

The Priſoner was then confronted with Peter Dubois.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner acknowledged, that what he ſaid was true; but that it was by his advice that the witneſs had been to hear maſs at the convent of the franciſcan friars, at which he likewiſe was preſent.

They both ſigned their names.

May 27th, 1610, *the Court ſat in the Afternoon in the Chamber de* LA-BEUVETTE.

WE the preſidents, and ſeveral of the counſellors being preſent, the priſoner, Francis Ravaillac, was brought into court, who having been accuſed and convicted of parricide committed on the perſon of the late king, he was ordered to kneel, and the clerk of the court pronounced the ſentence of death given againſt him; as likewiſe that he ſhould be put to the torture to force him to declare his accomplices.

His oath being taken, he was exhorted to redeem himſelf from the torments preparing for him, by acknowledging the truth, and declaring who thoſe perſons were that had perſuaded, prompted, and abetted him, in that moſt wicked action, and to whom

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whom he had diſcloſed his intention of committing it.

He ſaid, by the ſalvation I hope for, no one but myſelf was concerned in this action.

He was then ordered to be put to the torture of the brodequin*, and the firſt wedge being drove, he cried out, "God have mercy upon my ſoul, and "pardon the crime I have committed; I never diſ-"cloſed my intention to any one." This he repeated as he had done in his interrogation.

When the ſecond wedge was drove, he ſaid with loud cries and ſhrieks, "I am a ſinner, I know "no more than I have declared, by the oath I have "taken, and by the truth which I owe to God and "the court: all I have ſaid was to the little fran-"ciſcan, which I have already declared: I never "mentioned my deſign in confeſſion, or in any "other way: I never ſpoke of it to the viſitor of "Angoulême, nor revealed it in confeſſion in this "city. I beſeech the court not to drive my ſoul "to deſpair."

The executioner continuing to drive the ſecond wedge, he cried out, "My God, receive this "penance as an expiation for the great crimes I "have committed in this world: Oh God! accept "theſe torments in ſatisfaction for my ſins. By the "faith I owe to God, I know no more than what "I have declared. Oh! do not drive my ſoul to "deſpair."

The third wedge was then drove lower near his feet, at which a univerſal ſweat covered his body, and he fainted away. The executioner forced ſome wine into his mouth, but he could not ſwallow it; and, being quite ſpeechleſs, he was releaſed from the torture, and water thrown upon his face and

* The brodequin is a ſtrong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, juſt big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal, which being put therein, a wooden wedge is then drove with a mallet between his knees, and after that is forced quite through, a ſecond wedge of a larger ſize, is applied in the ſame manner.

hand

hands. Some wine being forced down his throat, his ſpeech returned, and he was laid upon a matraſs in the ſame place, where he continued till noon. When he had recovered his ſtrength, he was conducted to chapel by the executioner; and meſſieurs Filleſaſqs and Gamaches, two doctors of the Sorbonne, being ſent for, his dinner was given him; but before the divines entered into a conference with him, the clerk admoniſhed him to think of his ſalvation, and confeſs by whom he had been prompted, perſuaded and abetted in the wicked action he had committed, and ſo long deſigned to commit; it not being probable, that he ſhould of himſelf have conceived and executed it, without communicating it to any other.

He ſaid, that if he had known more than what he had declared to the court, he would not have concealed it, well knowing, that in this caſe he could not have the mercy of God, which he hoped for and expected; and that he would not have endured the torments he had done, if he had any farther confeſſion to make. He ſaid, he acknowledged that he had committed a great crime, to which he had been incited by the temptation of the devil: that he entreated the king, the queen, the court, and the whole kingdom, to pardon him, and to cauſe prayers to be put up to God for him, that his body might bear the puniſhment for his ſoul. And being many times admoniſhed to reveal the truth, he only repeated what he had ſaid before. He was then left with the doctors, that they might perform the duties of their office with him.

A little after two o'clock the clerk of the court was ſent for by the divines, who told him, that the condemned had charged them to ſend for him, that he might hear and ſign his confeſſion, which he deſired might be revealed, and even printed, to the end that it might be known to the whole world; which confeſſion the ſaid doctors declared to have been,

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been, That no one had been concerned with him in the act he had committed; That he had not been ſolicited, prompted, or abetted, by any other perſon whatever, nor had diſcovered his deſign to any one; That he acknowledged he had committed a great crime, for which he hoped to have the mercy of God, which was ſtill greater than his ſins, but which he could not hope to obtain if he concealed any thing.

Hereupon the clerk aſked the condemned, if he was willing that his confeſſion ſhould be known and revealed? and, as above, admoniſhed him to acknowledge the truth for the ſalvation of his ſoul. He then declared upon his oath, that he had ſaid all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three o'clock he came from the chapel; and as he was carrying out of the Conciergerie, the priſoners, in great numbers, thronged about him, with loud cries and exclamations, calling him Traitor, Wicked Wretch, Deteſtable Monſter, Damned Villain, and the like; they would have ſtruck him, had they not been hindered by the archers, and the other officers of juſtice, who kept them off by force.

When he was put into the tumbril, the crowd was ſo great, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the archers and officers of juſtice could force themſelves a paſſage; and as ſoon as the priſoner appeared, that vaſt multitude began to cry out, as above, Wicked Wretch, Traitor, &c.

The enraged populace continued their cries and execrations till he arrived at the Greve; where, before he was taken out of the tumbril to mount the ſcaffold, he was again exhorted to reveal his accomplices; but he perſiſted in his former declaration, that he had none; again imploring pardon of the young king, the queen, and the whole kingdom, for the crime he had committed.

When

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When he had aſcended the ſcaffold, the two doctors comforted him, and exhorted him to acknowledge the truth; and after performing the duties of their function, the clerk approached him, and urged him to think of his ſalvation now at the cloſe of his life, and to confeſs all he knew; to which he only anſwered as he had done before.

The fire being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had ſtabbed the king, he cried out, *Oh God!* and often repeated, *Jeſu Marie!* while his breaſt, &c. were tearing with red hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers; during which, being often admoniſhed to acknowledge the truth, he perſiſted in denying that he had any accomplices. The furious crowd continued to load him with execrations, crying, that he ought not to have a moment's reſpite. Afterwards, by intervals, melted lead and ſcalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he ſhrieked aloud, and continued his cries and exclamations.

The doctors again admoniſhed him, as likewiſe the clerk, to confeſs, and were preparing to offer up publicly the uſual prayers for the condemned; but immediately the people, with great tumult and diſorder, cried out againſt it, ſaying, that no prayers ought to be made for that wicked wretch, that damned monſter. So that the doctors were obliged to give over. Then the clerk remonſtrating to him, that the indignation of the people was a judgment upon him, which ought to induce him to declare the truth, he perſiſted to anſwer as formerly, ſaying, I only was concerned in the murder.

He was then drawn by four horſes, for half an hour, by intervals.

Being again queſtioned and admoniſhed, he perſiſted in denying that he had any accomplices; while the people of all ranks and degrees, both near and at a diſtance, continued their exclamations, in token of their great grief for the loſs of their king.

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Several perſons ſet themſelves to pull the ropes with the utmoſt eagerneſs; and one of the nobleſſe, who was near the criminal, alighted off his horſe, that it might be put in the place of one which was tired with drawing him. At length, when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horſes, without being diſmembered, the people, ruſhing on in crowds, threw themſelves upon him, and with ſwords, knives, ſticks, and other weapons, they ſtruck, tore, and mangled his limbs; and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the ſtreets with the utmoſt eagerneſs and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

May the twenty-firſt, 1610.

THE jailor cauſed the court to be informed that he had heard the priſoner ſay ſomething of conſequence; upon which he was ſent for, and the oath being adminiſtred to him,

He ſaid, That the even before, carrying the priſoner's ſupper to him, with one of his men, the two archers who guarded him being preſent, he aſked the priſoner where he was when the king went out of the Louvre? to which the priſoner replied, that he was ſitting in the hall among the footmen: and being again aſked, why he committed ſuch an action? the priſoner anſwered, "Becauſe of a great —— "but I will not tell you, but I will tell the court "to-morrow; and I could not help doing it, as I "ſhall prove by my body."

Then . . . . . archer of the provoſt of l'Hôtel, being ſent for, the oath was adminiſtred to him.

He repeated what the jailor had ſaid, adding, that the priſoner ſaid, that his mother had a mark like his; for which reaſon he could not avoid doing what he did; and that perceiving the king's coach to ſtop, he ſaw a viſion, which ſaid to him, *Now is the time.*

Then

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Then was heard upon oath . . . . . archer likewiſe of the provoſt of l'Hôtel.

He alſo repeated what the jailor had ſaid, adding, that the priſoner ſaid, he was under the neceſſity of committing that action, by a mark which he and his mother had, that it came from heaven, and that he would declare it to the court, &c.

Sentence of Death againſt Francis Ravaillac, *May* 28, 1610.

Extracted from the Regiſters of the Parliament.

THE court, conſiſting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being aſſembled, and having ſeen the criminal proceedings, formed by the preſidents and counſellors in that behalf, appointed by commiſſion, at the requiſition of the king's attorney-general, againſt Francis Ravaillac, a practitioner of the law, of the city of Angoulême, priſoner in the Conciergerie of the palace; as alſo the information made againſt him, the interrogatories, confeſſions, anſwers, and croſs-examinations of witneſſes, and the ſtate of the caſe by the king's attorney-general; and the ſaid Ravaillac having been heard and examined by the ſaid court, touching the matters laid to his charge; and touching the verbal proceſs of the interrogatories adminiſtrated to him on the rack; which, by order of the ſaid court, he underwent on the 25th of this month, for diſcovery of his accomplices: On conſideration of the whole.

The ſaid court hath declared, and doth declare, the ſaid Ravaillac duly attainted of the crime of high-treaſon, divine and human, in the higheſt degree, for the moſt wicked, moſt abominable, and moſt deteſtable parricide, committed on the perſon

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perſon of the late king, Henry IV. of good and laudable memory; for reparation whereof, the court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, to make the *amende honorable*, before the principal gate of the church of Paris, whither he ſhall be carried and drawn in a tumbril in his ſhirt, bearing a lighted torch of two pound weight; and that he ſhall there ſay and declare, that wickedly and traiterouſly he hath committed the aforeſaid moſt wicked, moſt abominable, and moſt deteſtable parricide, and murdered the ſaid lord the king, by ſtabbing him twice in the body with a knife; that he repents of the ſame, and begs pardon of God, the king, and the laws: from thence he ſhall be carried to the Greve, and, on a ſcaffold to be there erected, the fleſh ſhall be torn to pieces with red-hot pincers from his breaſts, his arms, and thighs, and the calves of his legs; his right hand, holding the knife wherewith he committed the aforeſaid parricide, ſhall be ſcorched and burned with flaming brimſtone; and on the places where the fleſh has been torn with pincers, melted lead, boiling oil, ſcalding pitch, with wax and brimſtone melted together, ſhall be poured: after this, he ſhall be torn in pieces by four horſes, his limbs and body burnt to aſhes, and diſperſed in the air. His goods and chattels are alſo declared to be forfeited and confiſcated to the king. And it is further ordained, that the houſe in which he was born ſhall be pulled down to the ground (the owner thereof being previouſly indemnified) and that no other building ſhall ever hereafter be erected on the foundation thereof: and that within fifteen days after the publication of this preſent ſentence, his father and mother ſhall, by ſound of trumpet and public proclamation in the city of Angoulême, be baniſhed out of the kingdom, and forbid ever to return, under the penalty of being hanged and ſtrangled, without any farther form or proceſs

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at law. The court has alſo forbidden, and doth forbid, his brothers, ſiſters, uncles, and others, from henceforth to bear the ſaid name of Ravaillac, enjoining them to change it to ſome other, under the like penalties; and ordering the ſubſtitute of the king's attorney-general to cauſe this preſent ſentence to be publiſhed and carried into execution, under pain of being anſwerable for the ſame; and before the execution thereof, the court doth order, that the ſaid Ravalllac ſhall again undergo the torture for the diſcovery of his accomplices.

Pronounced and executed the
27th day of May, 1610.

VOISIN

Extract from the Regiſters of Parliament.

THE court, conſiſting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being aſſembled, and proceeding to judgment on the criminal proceſs extraordinary, formed at the requiſition of the king's attorney-general, on account of the moſt wicked, moſt cruel, and moſt deteſtable parricide, committed on the ſacred perſon of the late king Henry IV. and having thereupon heard the king's ſaid attorney-general; hath ordered, and doth order, that, at the inſtance of the dean and ſyndic of the faculty of divinity, the ſaid faculty ſhall be aſſembled, as ſoon as may be, to deliberate; and having heard the tenor of the decree of the ſaid faculty of the 13th of December, 1413, and the reſolution founded on the opinion of one hundred forty-one doctors of the ſaid faculty, ſince confirmed by the council of Conſtance; *That it is not lawful for any one, whoever he be, to make any attempt on the ſacred perſons of kings, and other ſovereign princes:* The ſaid

decree thereon to be made by the ſaid aſſembly, ſhall be ſubſcribed by all the doctors of the ſaid faculty, who ſhall have been preſent at the deliberations; and alſo by all the batchelors, who are members of the body of divinity; which ſaid decree being communicated to the ſaid attorney-general, and produced to this court, ſuch order ſhall be made thereon as reaſon ſhall require.

Done in parliament, the 27th May, 1610.

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A GENERAL

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—— (Jane d') Queen of Navarre. See *Navarre*.

—— (Henry d') Baron de Mioſſens. See *Mioſſens*.

Aldegonde,

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Aldegonde. (Philip Marnix de Saint) A proteſtant officer. The prince of Orange informs him of the deſigned treachery at Antwerp, i. 86.

Aldobrandin, (Cardinal) Nephew and legat of Clement VIII. comes to France to treat of a peace. Sully's reception of him, and his prudent advice to him, ii. 338. His conferences at Lyons with the commiſſioners appointed by Henry IV. 342. Breaks them off upon account of the demolition of Fort St. Catherine, 343. Reſumes the treaty with Sully, and concludes it, 346. His friendſhip for Sully, iii. 14. Preſents from Henry IV. iv. 211. See *Sully, Peace, Savoy.*

Alençon. Hertray ſeizes it for the princes. They join their forces there, i. 46. Taken from the League by Henry's forces, 188. See *Hertray, Henry* IV.

Alençon, (Francis de Valois, Duke of) Afterwards duke of Anjou. See *Anjou.*

Alexander, (Father) A jeſuit, endeavours to procure the re-eſtabliſhment of his ſociety in France, iii. 236.

Alexandrini (Cardinal) called to the council, where they project the deſtruction of the proteſtants, i. 27.

Algiers. Spain endeavours to get poſſeſſion of it, iii. 198.

Alibour, Firſt phyſician to Henry IV. i. 206. A humourous dialogue between Henry IV. and him, concerning the fair Gabrielle, ii. 31. His Death. Some circumſtances relating to it, ib. See *Henry, Eſtrees, Sancy.*

Alincourt, (Charles de Neufville, Marquis of) governor of Pontoiſe, attempts to ſurpriſe Mante, i. 221. Concludes a treaty with Henry IV. 379. Obtains the government of Lyons, ib. Henry refuſes to give him the poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance, ii. 153. The ſum of money granted him by his treaty, 227. Is ſent to Rome on occaſion of the deſigned marriage between Henry IV. and Mary of Medicis, 314. Gratuities and favours which he received from the queen regent, v. 77. A great diſpute in the council between him and Sully on the affair of Lyons, 81.

Allegre. (Andrew d'). See *Ferraques.* (Counteſs of)

Allegre, (Chriſtopher, Marquis of) takes Rouen for the League, i. 190. Aſſaſſinates Hallot, iv. 228.

Allymes, (René de Lucinge Des) the duke of Savoy's commiſſioner in the affairs of Salluces, ii. 301. Endeavours to corrupt Sully by preſents, 302. See *Savoy, Salluces, Sully.*

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Almoner, (Great) That office given to cardinal Perron upon Sully's recommendation, iv. 145.

Alpin, (Saint) de Bethune. His example propoſed to Sully by Paul V. iv. 19. See *Bethune*.

Ambaſſadors and *Embaſſies* from Elizabeth and the United Provinces to Henry IV. Political diſcourſe of this prince upon this occaſion, ii. 178. See *Henry*, *Cecil*, *Naſſau*, *Elizabeth*, *&c.* Of the duke of Luxembourg to Rome. See *Luxembourg*. Of Sillery to Rome. See *Sillery*. From the grand ſeignior to Henry IV. See *Muſtapha*. From the Venetians to Henry IV. See *Venice*. From the archduke to Henry. See *Archdukes*. Embaſſy of Canaye to Venice; of Bethune to Rome; of marſhal Biron to London, and to the Swiſs cantons. See theſe names. A ſolemn embaſſy of the Swiſs cantons to France. See *Swiſs Cantons*. Marquis of Roſny ſent ambaſſador extraordinary to king James I. See *Sully*, *James* I. Ambaſſadors appointed by Henry IV. during the war of Cleves, iii. 202.

Ambliſe (Africanus d' Anglure d') defeated by the duke of Bouillon, 265.

Amboiſe. One of the five towns which continued faithful to Henry III. i. 159.

------ (George de Clermont d') follows Henry IV. into Franche Comte, ii. 56.

------ (Buſſy d') See *Buſſy*.

America. Deſigns of Charles V. and Philip II. upon that part of the world, and the obſtacles they meet with, iv. 111, 112. See *Charles* V. *Philip* II. Part of the great deſign relating to this part of the world. See *Political Deſign*.

Amerval. See *Liancourt*.

Amiens. Henry IV. makes his entrance into that city, ii. 11. He ſtays there ſome time, 81, 82. His anſwer to the deputies of that city, 82. Taken by the Spaniards, 139. Diſquiet it gives Henry, 140. His preparations to retake this city, 142. Begins the ſiege, 148. Sully's endeavours to ſecure the ſucceſs of it, 149. The Spaniards unable to prevent its being taken, 157, 159. Henry IV. goes there to conclude the treaty of Vervins, 193.

Amours. (N. d') Commiſſioner for levying the tax of a penny in the ſhilling, iii. 3.

Ancel, (William) Maitre de hôtel to the king, reſident at Vienna, iii. 394. In Poland, v. 146.

Anchin,

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Anebin, (John de Bethune, abbot d') revered as a ſaint, i. 6. See *Bethune*.

Ancorage (Rights of) eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Sully, iii. 209.

Andelot (Charles de Chatillon-Coligny, marquis of) diſputes Sully's priſoners with him, i. 199. A quarrel between them on that occaſion, 201. Henry IV. decides it for Sully, 206, 207.

—— (Francis de Chatillon-Coligny, marquis of) His three children all died or were murdered at one time, i. 215.

—— (Guy de Laval d') ſaved at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, and fled to Geneva, i. 34.

Andre. (Saint) A village where the battle of Ivry was fought, i. 196. See *Ivry*.

Andre. (N. de Saint) An officer in the ordnance, iv. 349.

Andreſy. Conferences upon religion held at this place, ii. 342. Names of thoſe perſons who aſſiſted at the conference, and the ſubjects treated of, ib.

Anfreville. The catholics drove from that place, i. 188.

Anfreville. (N. d') Taken priſoner by Sully at the battle of Ivry, i. 196, 197.

Ange. (Father) See *Joyeuſe, (Henry de)*.

Angel. (N. de Saint) Aſſiſts the king's party in Lemoſin, ii. 98. Contributes to the taking of Bourg, 316. Solicits for marſhal Biron's pardon, iii. 26.

Angely. (St. John d') Sully viſits this place, iii. 167. The poſt of king's lieutenant refuſed to its governor, 413. and given to La-Rochebeaucourt, iv. 151. Rohan obliges the regent to grant it to him, v. 164. See *Rohan, Rochebeaucourt*.

Angennes. (Francis d'). See *Mont-luet*.

—— (John d'). See *Poigny*.

—— (Lewis d'). See *Maintenon*.

—— (Nicholas d'). See *Rambouillet*.

Angers. Prince of Condé fails in his attempt upon this place, i. 108. Henry IV. ſtays ſome time there in his journey to Brittany, the buſineſs he tranſacts there, ii. 37, 38. See *Henry, Mercœur*, &c.

Angillon. (La Chapelle d') A houſe purchaſed by Sully, v. 104. The improvements he makes in it, 187.

Angouleme (Charles de Valois, count of) and duke of Auvergne. See *D'Auvergne*.

—— (Charlotte de Montmorency, ducheſs of). Proxy for the archduke at the baptiſm of the princeſs Elizabeth

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beth of France, iv. 39. See *France*. Employed in the amours of Henry IV. iv. 181, 242, 247.

Angoulême (Henry de Bourbon, count of), Grand prior and governor of Provence, i. 268.

Anjou. (Cities in) Taken by Henry IV. i. 53.

——— (Charles of) receives great favours from the family of Béthune in his wars with Mainfroi, i. 6. See *Béthune*.

——— (Francis de Valois, duke of Alençon, ſince duke of) otherways Monſieur. Plots with the king of Navarre to ſtrangle the queen mother, i. 13. They endeavour to procure a marriage between him and queen Elizabeth, 16. Joins the malcontents, 43. Arreſted ib. Recovers his liberty, 46. Great enmity between him and Henry III. 36. 45. Joins his forces with Henry IV. and the prince of Condé, 46. Catherine diſunites them from the proteſtants by the peace of Monſieur, 48, and 49. Deſign of this princeſs to make him king of Algiers. Negotiations to this effect, 76. His character, 80. See *Sauves*. Goes to Flanders. Received into Cambray, and takes the caſtle by aſſault. His treachery to the governor, 84. Goes to England, 85. Returns to Flanders, where he is crowned duke of Brabant, ib. Enters into a ſort of engagement with Elizabeth, ib. His reſentment to the city of Antwerp, 86. Diſobliges Sully and the proteſtants, 89. He loſes his army and returns to France, 91. Retires in diſgrace to Château-Thierry. Sully viſits him there, 92. His death, 93. His titles. Deſigned to be married to the ſiſter of Henry IV. ii. 255. Philip II. motives for engaging him in the enterpriſe of Antwerp, iv. 331. See the names mentioned in this article.

Anjou. (Gaſton-John Baptiſt de France, duke of) Third ſon of Henry IV. afterwards duke of Orleans. His birth, iv. 257. Henry propoſes to marry him to the princeſs of Mantua, 326. His fondneſs for Sully, v. 75.

——— (Henry de Valois, duke of) King of France. See *Henry* III.

Anſpach. (the duke of) Sully charged with holding a criminal correſpondence with this prince, ii. 116.

Anti-Chriſt. The proteſtants gave this name to the whole family of Medicis, i. 20. The Pope *Antichriſt*. A tenet propoſed to the ſynod of Gap. Oppoſed by Sully,

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iii. 213. Debates upon the ſame tenet in the ſynod of Rochelle, iv. 185, 186.

Anthony (N. de St.) Henry IV. ſends him to the king of England, iii. 187.

Antibes. Henry IV. propoſes to make a purchaſe in the neighbourhood of this place, iv. 288.

Antonio, (Don Simon) deputy from Spain, oppoſes the treaty between Sully and Villars, i. 362. The converſation betwixt Sully and him at the governor's, 381. Villars obliges him to leave Rouen, ib.

Antoine. (Port St.) Repaired, iv. 230.

Anton. (Claude Batarnay d') Firſt huſband to the wife of Admiral Coligny, i. 16.

Antonin. See *Guich* (Counteſs of).

Antwerp. The duke of Anjou is crowned there duke of Brabant, i. 85. Inſurrection upon account of the prince of Orange being wounded there, ib. Monſieur endeavours to ſeize it by ſurpriſe, and fails in his attempt, 87. Cauſe of the hatred the Dutch bore him, 85. See *Anjou*, *Orange*. The prince of Orange makes an unſucceſsful attack upon this city, iv. 198. Motives of the counſel given by Philip II. againſt this city, 332.

Arambure. (N. d') Preſent at the battle of Aumale: at the attack of the great convoy before Laon, i 404. Attends Henry IV. in the campaign of Franche-Compte, ii. 55, 56, 143. Treated with great familiarity by Henry IV. v. 7.

Arcadius, Emperor of the Eaſt, v. 114.

Archant. (N. de L') Preſent at the battle of Ivry, i. 198.

Archduke of Auſtria. (Albert cardinal) Loſes an opportunity of beating the French before Amiens, ii. 157, 159. Bon-mot of Henry on this occaſion, ib. Signs at Bruſſels the treaty of Vervins for the king of Spain, 195. Goes to fetch the archduchеſs of Gratz to Philip II. and conducts her through Marſeilles, ii. 253. Marries the Infanta Iſabella, and is made governor of the Low Countries, 254. He loſes the battle of Nieuport, 350. Beſieges Oſtend, 363. Sends the count of Solre ambaſſador to Henry at Calais, 367. Indiſpoſed at Bruſſels, iii. 57. The diſpoſition and true political views of the archduke in Flanders with regard to Spain and the houſe of Auſtria, 171. He favours the conſpiracy of the Engliſh lords againſt king James, 196. Bad ſucceſs in the war againſt the Dutch, 201. He concludes the treaty of ſuſpenſion of arms between

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between Spain and the United Provinces, iv. 203. Endeavours ſincerely to bring about a peace, 296. His reception of the prince of Conde after he left France, 372. Treaty of a truce for twelve years between him and the States-general, with the treaty of mediation of the kings of France and England, 382. He ſupports the intereſt of the prince of Epernon out of regard to Sully, 384. The letter which he wrote Henry IV. upon his journey into Cleves, and Henry's anſwer to this letter, 423. His motives for the little precaution he took againſt Henry's great deſign, 204. Sends an embaſſy into France upon the death of Henry IV. v. 68. Permits the troops of the confederate princes for the great deſign to paſs through his dominions, 159. See *Cleves*, *Political Deſign*, and the other names mentioned in this article.

Archdukes and Archduchеſſes. Prince and princeſſes of that name. See *Auſtria*.

Archprieſt. Eſtabliſhed in England by the pope. The cauſe of great troubles. iii. 145. See *Clement* VIII. *James* I. and *Jeſuits*.

Ardembourg. The archduke Albert fails in his attempt upon this place, iii. 339.

Andres. Taken by the Spaniards, ii. 58.

Aremberg. (John de Ligne, count of) Ambaſſador from the arch-duke to king James, iii. 94. Cabals in London, 98. Audience refuſed him by the king of England till Sully had his, 114. Compliments and preſents which Sully and he make each other, 120. King James complains of his conduct, 127. Errors he is guilty of in his negotiation, 152. Goes to Windſor, 190. The king delays giving him his ſecond audience, 194, 196. Continues to cabal at London, ibid.

Argelets. From whence called, i. 109.

Argentan. The duke of Montpenſier takes this city for the king, and defeats the Gautieres there, i. 188. See *Montpenſier*, *League*.

Argentier (L') One of the farmers of the revenue, ii. 135.

Argenton. Henry IV. diſlodges the troops of the League from this place, i. 163.

Argouges. (Florent d') Treaſurer of the queen's houſhold, iii. 271. Brings a comptant to Sully, which that miniſter refuſes to ſign, 238.

Ariat. (N. d') Succours the inhabitants of Villemur againſt the forces of the League, i. 272. See *Joyeuſe*, *Villemur*.

Arlieux,

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Arlieux. Monſieur attacks this paſſage. Sully takes ſome priſoners there, i. 82. See *Anjou, Sully.*

Armagnac. (County of) Erected into a preſidial, ii. 164. Law-ſuit loſt by Henry IV. to the Sieur de Fontrailles for this county, ib.

Armagnac. Firſt gentleman of the bedchamber to Henry IV. ii. 1. iii. 11.

Armand. (Father) A Jeſuit, labours ſucceſsfully for the re-eſtabliſhment of that ſociety in France, 229, 231.

Arms. (Wearing of) prohibited, ii. 199.

Arnai-le-Duc. (Encounter of) In which the proteſtants have the advantage, i. 3. Henry's diſcourſe upon this battle, ibid.

Arnaud. (The eldeſt of four brothers) Clerk of the council of finances, ii. 118.

——— (The ſecond brother) Secretary to Sully. Marſhal Biron's converſation with him upon the ſcaffold, iii. 26. Informations given him by a canon of Canterbury upon the intrigues of Spain in London, 95. Mary of Medicis makes him a member of her privy council, v. 21. Sully's reſentment againſt him, 23. Sully ſends him to Conchini to make him ſome compliments in his name: what paſſed upon this occaſion, 166. Favours beſtowed upon him by the queen regent, 77. She makes him intendant of the finances. Sully's advice to him, 91.

——— (The third brother) Colonel. Advice given him by Sully, 91.

——— (The fourth brother) Treaſurer of France, and overſeer of the highways, makes his court to Conchini, v. 40. Advice given him by Sully, 91.

Arnes. (N. d') A proteſtant gentleman, eſcapes the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 29.

Aro. The proteſtant party of the Griſons hold an aſſembly there, iii. 356.

Arpentis. (Lewis Du Bois des) Governor of Touraine, i. 105. Services which Sully receives from him, 112.

Arques. (Battle of) i. 180.

Arquin. See *Montigny.*

——— (Antony d') Commmandant of the citadel of Metz, iii. 64.

Arragon. (Admiral of) Aſſiſts for the king of Spain at the publication of the peace of Vervins at Paris, ii. 195. Commands the Spaniſh army in Flanders, 254. Unable to ſuccour Grave, iii. 57.

Arras. (Sully's anceſtors have the title of protector of the church of) i. 6. Marſhal Biron the cauſe that the attempt

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attempt upon this place failed, ii. 73. Henry reſolves to beſiege it in form, 74. The taking of Amiens by the Spaniards obliges him to lay aſide this deſign, 136.

Arrets. Edicts and reſolutions upon the finances, war, politics, and commerce, &c. See each of theſe articles.

Arſcot. (Duke of) Aſſiſts at the publication of the peace of Vervins at Paris, ii. 195.

Arſenal of Paris. The duke of Sully reſides there, ii. 224. Repairs it, 297. Receives the king and queen there. 350. Interlude preſented there, iii. 1. Works carried on by Sully, 327. and in the other arſenals of the kingdom, iv. 9, He eſtabliſhes a ſchool for military exerciſes, 93. Running at the ring, Henry's frequent viſits there, 182. and following. See *Henry* IV. *Sully.* A large hall and amphitheatre built there by Sully for theatrical repreſentations, 236. He entertains and lodges Henry there, who goes frequently to viſit him, 333.

Arſon. Deputy to the duke of Bouillon in the affair of Sedan, iv. 127.

Artois. (Counts of) The ſovereignty of the earldom of St. Paul conteſted for by them and the counts of Bologna, iii. 361. See *Saint Paul.*

Arts. A ſcheme for the improvement of them, iv. 363. See *Cabinet of State.*

Arundel. (Palace of) Sully lodged there during his embaſſy to London, iii. 101.

Aſcoly. (Prince of) Commands the Spaniſh troops in Champagne, i. 220. Suffers Noyon to be taken, ibid.

Aſia. Deſigns of Charles V. of Philip II. and of the houſe of Auſtria, upon this quarter of the globe, and the obſtacles they meet with. Part of the great deſign of Henry IV. relating to that part of the world. See *Political deſigns.*

Aſtrology and *Aſtrologers.* An adventure of the duke of Sully with an aſtrologer, ii. 78, 80. The ſcience of aſtrology very much cultivated in the age of Henry IV. 269. This prince makes La-Riviere calculate the Dauphine's nativity, 377. See *Henry, Sully, La Broſſe,* &c.

Atichy. Member of the new council of finances, i. 173.

Avantigny, A proteſtant officer. Monſieur withdraws his confidence from him, i. 86—123. Preſent at the combat of Saveuſe, 168. At the battle of Arques, 180.

Aubagnac. Agent to the duke of Bouillon, iv. 79.

Aubepine. (Charles de l') Marquis of Chateau-neuf. Refuſed the office of grand maſter of the ordnance, ii. 1

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Called to the council to deliberate upon the affair of recalling the Jeſuits, iii. 228. Upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the public revenue, 323. Upon the affairs of the United Provinces, iv. 199. Appointed by Henry one of the regents, 203. Admitted by Mary of Medicis into her ordinary council, v. 2.

Aubeterre. (N. d') Slanders raiſed upon account of Sully's friendſhip for him, iii. 402.

Aubigné. (Theodore Agrippa d') Ill affected to the party of Henry IV. i. 101.—ii. 151. The methods uſed by him to raiſe an inſurrection among the proteſtants, 175. Obſerves Sully's conduct in his journey into Poitou, 1. Lays the foundation of a proteſtant republic in France, 192, 193.

Aubigny. (Father) A Jeſuit. See *Jeſuit*, *Parricide*, *Henry.*

Aubin, (Saint) Agent to the duke of Bouillon, iii. 39.

Auguſtus. The conformity between the reign of Henry IV. and his, iv. 247.

Auguſtins. (Order of) inſtituted, iii. 213.

Avias. (Father) Mentioned in a letter of father Cotton's, iv. 316.

Avignon. A diſpute concerning the bridge of that city, between the Pope and the king of France, terminated in favour of the king, iii. 358.

Avila. (D. John Alvares) Admiral of Spain, killed in a naval fight with the Dutch, ii. 308, 309.

Aumale. (Battle of) i. 239. Prince of Parma's ſpeech upon the battle, 245.

Aumale. (Charles de Lorrain, duke of) Aſſiſts the leagues, i. 178. Narrowly eſcapes being taken priſoner by Sully, 188. Defeated before Noyon, 219, 220. His wife treats with Sully about his return to the king's party, 360. Serves the Spaniards in Flanders, iii. 69.

Aumale. (Claude de Lorrain, duke of) A ſtem of the houſe of Guiſe, i. 12.

Aumale. (Claude de Lorrain, chevalier d') Fights for the league at Ivry, i. 194. Is killed at the attack of St. Dennis, 264.

Aumale. (Mary de Lorraine, ducheſs of) treats with Sully about her huſband's returning to the king, i. 360.

Aumont. (John d') Marſhal of France, i. 105. Takes an oath of fidelity to Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. 176. Surpriſes Meulan, ibid. Attacks the ſuburbs of Saint-Germain, 186. The victory of Ivry partly owing to his valour, 154. Greatly careſſed by Henry, 199.

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Confers with the king about his converſion, 319. His exploits in Brittany, ii. 11. His death, ibid.

Anneau. (Defeat of the foreign troops at) Accounted for, i. 149.

Aurelly. A gentleman attached to the duke of Anjou, i. 93.

Auſſonville. See *George* (Saint)

Auſtria. (Houſe of) The author's ſentiments of its origin, i. 4. From whence it deſcended. Diſtinction between the original and the ſecond houſe of Auſtria. Names of the ſeveral princes of this houſe: errors in all theſe reſpects rectified, ibid. See *Habſburg.* Eſtates brought into the houſe of Auſtria by that of Bethune, ii. 91. That houſe hated by the proteſtants of the north, iii. 110. The complaints of king James againſt it, and the project concerted between him and Sully to humble it, 141. Countries ſubject to it, ibid. See *Charles* V. *Philip* II. The neceſſity and means of humbling it, 168. Sully the firſt contriver of this ſcheme, 244. Strengthened by its alliances, 349. Its deſigns of acquiring univerſal monarchy, iv. 110. Its firſt advancement, origin, and great ſucceſſes, 112. Henry IV. and Sully think of means to put a ſtop to them, ibid. Alliance of the houſe of Bethune with the houſe of Auſtria, iv. 391. See *Bethune, Coucy.* Pre-eminence of the houſe of Bourbon over the houſe of Auſtria, 392. See *Bourbon.* How it got poſſeſſion of the earldom of Guelders, 396. Death of the duke of Cleves, and the ſucceſſion of his dominions; reaſons for endeavouring to ſet it aſide, 400. See *Political deſign, Cleves, Elizabeth.* States and princes in Europe oppoſing the houſe of Auſtria on this occaſion, 194. Conſpiracy againſt the life of Henry IV. in which it is concerned, 204, 205. See *Spain, Henry, Parricide,* &c. Suffers Juliers to be taken, and the ſucceſſion of Cleves to be divided, 273. The view of the grand deſign of Henry IV. in regard to it, 337. Juſt ſubjects of complaint for all Europe againſt it, 352. Conjectures on what meaſures it would have taken with reſpect to the grand deſign, and what would have been the conſequence of it, 355. See *Political deſign, Spain, Rodolph.*

Auſtria. (Dutchy of) See *Habſbourg, Auſtria* (*Albert* and *Raoul* of)

——— (Albert of). See *Habſbourg* and *Auſtria* (Houſe of).

——— (Albert, cardinal and arch-duke of). See *Arch-duke, Low Countries.*

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Auſtria. (Andrew, cardinal of) Lieutenant-general in Flanders till the arrival of the arch-duke, ii. 254.
——— (Anna Maria Mauricetta of). See *Spain* (children of).
——— (Catherine of) By her marrying into the houſe of Bethune, it became allied to the houſe of Auſtria, 175.
——— (Don Carlos of). See *Carlos*, *Spain*, *Philip* II.
——— (Charles IV. of). See *Emperor*.
——— (Charles of) Marquis of Burgaw. See *Burgaw*, *Cleves*.
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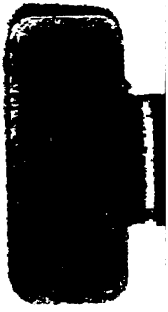

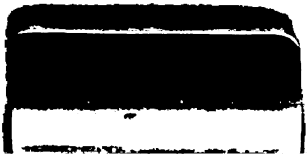

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